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# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1220

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17 February 1982

# USSR REPORT

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## REGIONAL

### UZBEK SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDUM CHAIRMAN SPEECH

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 29 Nov 81 pp 2-3

/Speech by deputy I. B. Usmankhodzhayev, chairman of the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet: "On Draft Laws 'On the Judicial System of the Uzbek SSR,' 'On Elections of Rayon (City) People's Courts of the Uzbek SSR' and 'On the Procedure of Recall of People's Judges and People's Assessors of Rayon (City) People's Courts of the Uzbek SSR'"; date and place not specified

/Text Respected comrade deputies! The life and activity of Uzbekistan's workers take place under the growing influence of the ideas and decisions of the historical 26th Congress of the CPSU. Perceiving them as their closest and vital concern, urban and rural workers implement the grand programs of the 11th Five-Year Plan and of its first year with tremendous enthusiasm.

With a high patriotic fervor and famous deeds and accomplishments for the good of the homeland Uzbekistan's workers demonstrate their monolithic solidarity with the Communist Party and unanimous support for its Leninist course systematically and persistently implemented by the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, outstanding politician and statesman, loyal Marxist-Leninist and ardent fighter for the people's happiness and for peace and communism.

The Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee held on 16 November of this year gave a strong, new impetus to the development of the creative energy of the masses. In his brilliant speech at the plenum Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the party, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, presented a comprehensive analysis of the post-congress period and of problems of economic and social-cultural construction and outlined a program for the further improvement in the efficiency and quality of work and the main paths of a progressive movement of the Soviet Union toward the outlined high goals.

These high objectives are embodied in the laws adopted by the sixth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The new five-year plan is a five-year plan of far-reaching communist construction. The program objective of the CPSU "everything in the name of man and for the good of man" has become its fighting slogan.

The fourth plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan that was held discussed the tasks of the republic party organization in the light of the decisions of the November (1981) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and

examined and approved the drafts of state plans for the economic and social development of the Uzbek SSR for 1981-1985 and for the second year of the five-year plan and of the republic's state budget. The plenum also mapped out measures for the further accelerated development of animal husbandry, which is the shock front in rural areas.

The reports by Comrade Sh. R. Rashidov, candidate-member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan summed up the extensive organizational and political activity of the republic party organization and the selfless labor of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsia in the implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. The results attained were analyzed from high party positions, attention was concentrated on a fuller utilization of the existing potentials for production growth and on an increase in organization, responsibility and exactingness at all levels of management and the ways of maximally raising the efficiency and quality of work in animal husbandry and in other national economic sectors were pointed out.

The present session of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet adopted the laws on the plans for the republic's economic and social development for the 11th Five-Year Plan and for 1982, as well as on the state budget of the Uzbek SSR.

Uzbekistan's new five-year plan is another clear evidence of the wisdom and vital force of the Leninist national political party. It fully takes into consideration the urgent needs for the republic's steady development and for an ever greater increase in its material and spiritual potential and its maximum utilization for a harmonious development of the entire multinational Soviet country. This takes on special significance on the threshold of the famous jubilee--the 60th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Today we can state with full confidence that the republic will fulfill and overfulfill all the basic state assignments for the economic and social development of the first year of the new five-year plan.

This is indicated by the advances made during the past period of this year in industry, in capital construction and in all other sectors of the national economy and culture, which was discussed in detail in the reports and speeches by deputies heard at the session.

All of us are especially happy with the brilliant victory gained by cotton growers and all workers in Uzbekistan under the guidance of our militant republic party organization in the fight for 6 million tons of "white gold." This victory demonstrates their selfless devotion to the cause of communism and loyalty to the interests of the great and inviolable fraternal friendship among Soviet nations.

Owing to the large-scale political and organizational work carried out by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan and its Buro and by local party and Soviet bodies, workers in the entire republic, having overcome difficulties with fortitude, made remarkable advances in cotton growing and other sectors of agriculture. These advances were highly evaluated in the warm speech of welcome by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. This speech of welcome encourages and inspires the republic's workers to new accomplishments.

Led by the Leninist party, Uzbekistan's workers will honorably fulfill all the tasks set for them by the 26th congress and by the November (1981) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, mark the 11th Five-Year Plan with great, new achievements and even more increase their contribution to the further flourishing of the socialist homeland.

The advances made by the Uzbek SSR are the embodiment of the great creative force of Soviet socialist democracy, which gives wide scope for the unprecedented development of the creative activity and initiative of the masses.

Solving the problems of communist construction, our party and its Central Committee attach paramount importance to the further development of the Soviet political system and improvement in our statehood and democracy.

As noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, with the adoption of the USSR Constitution and then the constitutions of the Union and autonomous republics a new stage in the work of soviets of people's deputies began.

From the moment of election of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev as chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet the activity of soviets of all stages rose to a qualitatively new and higher level. Their role in economic and political life rose immeasurably. This is clearly exemplified by the multifaceted activity of the soviets of people's deputies of the Uzbek SSR. They make a worthy contribution to the accomplishment of the national economic tasks set by the party for the republic.

At the same time, we fully realize that in the light of the decisions of the 26th congress and the November (1981) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, as well as of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, it is necessary to even more widely develop the activity of the republic's soviets of people's deputies in state, economic and social-cultural construction.

Work aimed at the maximum possible strengthening of socialist legality and law and order occupies a prominent place among the major measures implemented by the party for the further development of Soviet statehood.

In accordance with party decisions and directives of the CPSU Central Committee in our republic under the guidance of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan party, Soviet and law protection bodies and public organizations have been engaged in significant work on ensuring a strict observance of laws and proper law and order. The number of crimes, including such as premeditated murders, serious bodily injuries, assaults by robbers, thefts of state and public property, hooliganism and so forth, is decreasing in the republic.

However, a great deal must still be done to decisively eradicate criminality and various types of negative phenomena.

As stressed at the 26th CPSU Congress, "it is necessary with all organizational, financial and legal means to firmly close any gaps to parasitism, bribery, speculation, unearned income and any encroachments on socialist property."



The efforts of all labor collectives and the entire public should be directed toward the fight against criminal, antisocial and ugly phenomena and toward a decisive eradication of everything that hampers the people's creative work and the formation of the new man. Soviets of people's deputies and their permanent commissions and deputies play an important role in this work. They are called upon to show special persistence and activity.

The tremendous work carried out in the cause of the further development of Soviet legislation is of exceptional importance for the improvement in Soviet statehood and strengthening of socialist legality. Significant work in this direction is done in the republic.

The Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet and its presidium implement important measures to improve republic legislation and to bring it into line with the constitutions of the USSR and the Uzbek SSR.

Special attention is paid to seeing to it that the drafted bills are organically connected with life and with the needs of society, have the necessary effect on practice and more fully meet the tasks facing them.

Planned work on improving the republic's legislation will continue further. However, as Comrade Sh. R. Rashidov stressed in his report on the tasks of soviets at the preceding, third, session of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, laws, no matter how good they may be, will not be fulfilled by themselves, automatically. Local soviets of people's deputies and their permanent commissions, executive committees and deputies are called upon to see to it that the control over an accurate and unconditional fulfillment of all laws is constant, effective and efficient and contributes to the elimination of shortcomings and to the attainment of positive results in work.

The Soviet court system plays an important role in the strengthening of socialist legality and law and order.

The Soviet court is truly popular and democratic. It is called upon to vigilantly guard the interests of the homeland and of the people and the legal rights of citizens. In its activity the court educates Soviet citizens in the spirit of a strict execution of the Constitution and Soviet laws, careful attitude toward socialist property, strict and conscious observance of labor discipline and honest attitude toward state and public duty.

At present in the republic there are 200 rayon (city) and 11 oblast people's courts, the Supreme Court of the Karakalpakskaya ASSR and the Supreme Court of the Uzbek SSR.

A total of 334 people's judges and 24,211 people's assessors were elected to the rayon (city) people's courts of the Uzbek SSR. All people's judges have higher legal education. More than 98 percent of them are members of the CPSU.

Among people's assessors there are Heroes of the Soviet Union and Socialist Labor, deputies of local soviets, participants in the Great Patriotic War and members of brigades of communist labor--people esteemed and respected by the nation.

The republic's courts do a great deal of work. They competently and promptly try civil and criminal cases and examine materials concerning administrative infringements of the law.

The work of courts on a fuller recovery from convicted individuals of the damage caused by misappropriations of state and public property is activated.

In 1981 people's judges made about 4,000 reports to voters and gave more than 15,000 lectures and talks on legal subjects to the public.

At the same time, there are also shortcomings in the activity of courts. Many incorrect judgements in civil cases are still delivered. There are frequent cases of reversal or change of judgements in criminal cases. Cases of pronouncement of verdicts of guilty in regard to people who did not commit a crime are especially intolerable.

The Uzbek SSR Ministry of Justice and its local bodies and local soviets of people's deputies must take the proper measures to eradicate the violations committed by courts and pay more attention to an improvement in the qualitative composition of court workers.

For the purpose of further improving the activity of courts the draft laws "On the Judicial System of the Uzbek SSR," "On Elections of Rayon (City) People's Courts of the Uzbek SSR" and "On the Procedure of Recall of People's Judges and People's Assessors of Rayon (City) People's Courts of the Uzbek SSR" are submitted for your consideration.

Twenty years passed since the adoption of the currently existing laws on the republic's judicial system, on elections of rayon (city) people's courts and on the procedure of early recall of judges and people's assessors of courts of the Uzbek SSR. Vast changes in economic and social development took place in Uzbekistan, as in the entire country, during those years. The above-mentioned legislative acts do not meet the demands in many respects. In connection with this new draft laws have been worked out and are submitted for your consideration.

The drafts of normative acts submitted to the session of the Supreme Soviet for consideration reflect the real democratism of the Soviet system under the conditions of developed socialist society. They have been worked out in full correspondence with the USSR Constitution and the Uzbek SSR Constitution and specify the constitutional principles of the structure and activity of courts.

Permit me to proceed to a brief description of these drafts.

The draft law of the Uzbek SSR "On the Judicial System of the Uzbek SSR" preserves the continuity of the law in effect. It includes norms that have been tested and proved their value in the process of long-term practice and new articles aimed at the further strengthening of the principle of justice and prevention of crimes and other infringements of the law.

On the basis of the Leninist principle of enlisting the wide public's participation in the administration of justice the draft affirms and develops the constitutional provision on the right of the representatives of public organizations and labor collectives to take part in judicial proceedings in civil and criminal cases.

The draft also determines the limits of the organizational direction of courts on the part of the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Justice, the Karakalpakskaya ASSR Ministry of Justice and the divisions of justice of the executive committees of oblast and Tashkent city soviets of people's deputies. They should contribute in every possible way to the implementation of court tasks and to the observance of the principle of independence of judges and their subordination only to law.

In accordance with article 163 of the Uzbek SSR Constitution all courts in the republic are formed on the principle of electiveness. This principle determines the organization of all the elements of the court system in the Uzbek SSR. The question as to whether a certain citizen can be a people's judge or assessor is solved by the citizens themselves. Higher courts are elected by the deputies of the corresponding soviet--plenipotentiary representatives of the people.

It was considered necessary to include an article on the soviet of people's assessors in the draft. In accordance with this article the soviet of people's assessors is formed at the rayon (city) people's court. The organization, tasks and procedure of activity of this soviet are determined by the statute approved by the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.

A special place in the system of court bodies is assigned to the Uzbek SSR Supreme Court. The draft notes that, in addition to the examination of civil and criminal cases within its powers, the Uzbek SSR Supreme Court studies and generalizes the judicial work of all the republic's courts, analyzes judicial statistics and gives courts guiding instructions on problems of application of republic legislation. These guiding instructions are binding on courts and other bodies and officials applying the law for which the instruction is given. The Supreme Court exercises control over the fulfillment by the republic's courts of the guiding instructions of the Plenum of the USSR Supreme Court and of the Plenum of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Court.

The draft law regulates problems concerning an early dismissal of judges and people's assessors and their disciplinary responsibility and other problems pertaining to the organization of the activity of Uzbek SSR courts.

The draft law "On Elections of Rayon (City) People's Courts of the Uzbek SSR" preserves the existing procedure of elections of people's courts and develops and supplements it with new provisions.

The presented norms most fully regulate the problems of preparing and holding elections of people's courts and, in fact, enable wide masses of voters to actively participate in the formation of judicial bodies.

It has been determined that the right to nominate candidates for people's judges and assessors of rayon (city) people's courts in the republic belongs to the organizations of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of trade unions and of the Komsomol, to cooperative and other public organizations, to labor collectives and to meetings of servicemen.

The draft law on elections of people's courts determines the powers and establishes the procedure of formation and work of electoral commissions, the procedure of nomination of candidates for people's judges and their registration, the procedure of holding elections of people's assessors and other problems.

Comrade deputies! The draft law "On the Procedure of Recall of People's Judges and People's Assessors of Rayon (City) People's Courts of the Uzbek SSR" is also submitted for your consideration. The draft reproduces the requirements placed upon the Soviet judge. In accordance with this draft people's judges and assessors of rayon (city) people's courts can be recalled by voters if they do not justify their confidence or commit actions unworthy of the high title of people's judge or assessor.

Such are the basic content and characteristic features of the draft laws of the Uzbek SSR submitted to the session of the Supreme Soviet for consideration. They have been examined and approved by the commission for legislative proposals of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.

The enumerated laws are to be put into effect as of 1 January 1982.

The adoption of these new documents will be an important landmark on the path of the further development of legislation and improvement in the democratic principles of justice in the republic and will serve the maximum possible strengthening of socialist legality in the republic.

The first year of the five-year plan is coming to an end. Concluding it successfully, Uzbekistan's workers try to perceive the scale of forthcoming work. Stepped-up plans and important and complex tasks are ahead. Comrades, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, urged us at the November Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, we will work increasingly better and in an even more organized and efficient way and devote all our efforts, knowledge and experience to the implementation of the outlines of the 26th congress of our Leninist party. (Applause).

11,439

CSO: 1830/219



## REGIONAL

### KIRGHIZ TRANSPORT MINISTRY'S WORK WITH LETTERS CRITICIZED

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 25 Dec 81 p 3

[Article: "Letters Without Answers"]

[Text] The republic Committee for People's Control has uncovered serious deficiencies in carrying out the instructions of the party and the government with regard to improving work with letters and the reception of citizens by the Ministry of Automotive Transport and Highways of the Kirghiz SSR.

Each year the Ministry of Automotive Transport and Highways and its subordinate organizations and enterprises receive more than 1,000 complaints and inquiries from workers on unsatisfactory work of motor transport.

One out of three letters contains a complaint about the mercenary attitude of drivers, misappropriation of assets, the low quality of service to the populace, the unsatisfactory operation of buses, non-observance of schedules, and arbitrary changes of routes. Last year in motor transport enterprises of the ministry there were 225,000 cases of non-dispatch of buses on scheduled routes. During that period the Frunze bus station alone failed to dispatch 24,000 runs, failing to transport some 70,000 passengers. Complaints and inquiries on these deficiencies were repeatedly registered by the workers. However, their requests and suggestions were not fully utilized to improve the operations of trusts, motor pools or bus depots. Instances of bureaucratic handling of letters were observed. Many were readdressed by the ministry to motor transport trusts and enterprises, which, as a rule, gave stereotyped replies. Control of the complaints was lost, and at the same time the situation was not improved, thus resulting in justifiable reproaches from the workers.

Nor has the situation with the time required to investigate citizens' complaints improved. As a rule, one out of five letters is not answered on time by the ministry. This occurs because the handling of workers' letters at the local level is haphazard; they are not controlled by anyone, and investigations are spasmodic in nature. In the past two years the ministry launched only one such investigation; and not one time were supervisors of subordinate organizations called to account for their handling of letters.

The investigation revealed that in a number of bus depots and stations the established procedures for maintaining complaint and inquiry logs were violated.

Directors of motor transport enterprises did not always review the entries in a timely manner. Because of this inattentiveness by some individual functionaries the complainants did not receive detailed answers, and the violations and malfeasances were not eliminated. Therefore many citizens found it necessary to appeal to higher party and government organs and to newspapers and magazines.

The ministry has not complied with the decree of the committee "on results of the effectiveness of work of the control service on general passenger bus service." As before there are cases of misappropriation by some drivers of fares paid by passengers. Such violations are fairly pointed out in an article in PRAVDA of 20 October 1981 entitled "Whom Do Passengers Pay?" and in SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA of 20 November entitled "At Someone Else's Expense."

Most of the blame for this poor control service lies with supervisors of motor pools and directors of trusts who in essence have permitted this haphazard handling. The motor transport facilities of the Northern Industrial Motor Transport Passenger Trust (whose director is Sh. Sayakov) have 71 controllers. In 10 months of 1981 they handled 3,000 cases of violations of financial regulations, an average of less than five cases per controller per month.

The number of offenders increases with increases in violations of schedules. At the Frunze Bus Station alone the Northern Industrial Motor Transport Passenger Trust mishandled 9,000 inter-city runs in the past four months. This meant that about 300,000 passengers were not served, most of whom travelled without tickets, the payments for their trips being misappropriated by the drivers, resulting in considerable loss to the state. In exposed violations by the drivers of Frunze Passenger Motor Pool No. 2 (supervisor -- T. Azhikeyev) alone, 23,000 rubles of state funds were misappropriated.

Offenses by drivers in transporting ticketless passengers are abetted by cashiers and conductors, who do not carry out their primary responsibilities of seating passengers in the bus and dispatching them. Conductors at stations and depots also do not always carry out their functions, failing to check buses passing through outlying stations and depots.

The Committee for People's Control of the republic has reprimanded the minister of motor transport and highways of the Kirghiz SSR, K. Orozaliyev, for serious deficiencies in handling of letters and oral inquiries by citizens to offices of the ministry and subordinate organizations and enterprises; and for failure to take appropriate measures to eliminate the reasons and conditions leading to the complaints by workers.

Strict punishments were also handed out to the chief of the Northern Industrial Association of Bus Depots and Stations, T. Dzhenaliyev, and the director of the Northern Industrial Motor Transport Trust, Sh. Sayakov. The committee gave them strict reprimands. They both also were fined, Dzhenaliyev being fined two months' salary and Sayakov one month's.

For systematic non-fulfillment of the plan for dispatching buses on their routes, resulting in reduction of receipts from passengers, the chief of Frunze Passenger Motor Pool No. 2, T. Azhikeyev, also received a fine of one month's salary.

The Committee for People's Control of the republic has charged a people's control group with establishing systematic control over the ministry apparatus in carrying out directives of the party and the government for further improving handling of letters and complaints of workers; and with more vigorously coordinating creation within the apparatus conditions for an intolerant attitude toward manifestations of formalism and red tape in this matter.

3055

CSO: 1830/204

## REGIONAL

### RUSSIAN SUPERIORITY TO OTHER NATIONS LIES IN 'LACK OF NATIONAL EGOTISM'

Moscow NASH SOVREMENNIK in Russian No 11, Nov 81, pp 153-176

[Article by Vadim Kozhinov: "'And I Will Be Remembered By Every Nation Existing in It. . . .'"]

[Text] Recently, almost every serious discussion of literary historical problems has turned in one form or another to the topic of the uniqueness of our literature. As if obeying some kind of insuperable force, the public consciousness puts this question in the forefront.

One of today's important literary critics, N. N. Skatov, speaks about the fact that the true essence of our native art of the word consists not in criticism as such, but in self-criticism; it is precisely here, in his opinion, that we have the undying and fully alive to this day meaning of the Russian classics. "After all, the denunciation of the land owner, the official, and the noble has today, despite all of its importance, a rather historical significance. But our syllabi are being constructed on its basis," N. N. Skatov complains, "and, in essence, the entire course of study is subordinated to it. But what about the poignancy of personal civic moral responsibility (and not the abstract "poet and citizen" of the last century), what about the denuding of the inner self, and the mercilessness of the lyrical self-trial, which at one time seemed peripheral (let us say, even to such a writer as Dobrolyubov with his parodies of Nekrasov of the "Knight Without Fear and Reproach" type)?"

This merciless self-critical pathos, N. N. Skatov develops his thought, cannot be understood "in abstraction from the characteristics of national character. . . . It is this character which manifested itself in the mercilessness and power of the "criticism" and "self-criticism" which, alas, receives frequently only an external, narrowly sociological interpretation."

The critic refers in this connection to a number of statements by Dostoevsky, particularly, the following one: "It is not without reason that we showed such strength in a self-condemnation which amazed all foreigners. They reproached us for this, called us faceless, people without a fatherland, not noticing that the ability to renounce one's soil for a time . . . is already of itself a sign of the greatest exceptionality." Later on, N. N. Skatov emphasizes that "the very strength of this negation was only possible with a corresponding strength of affirmation. . . . The ideals of Russian literature . . . were "beyond-the-

limits," were located beyond . . . all possible visible horizons, beyond, so to speak, visible history."

Finally, after quoting Dostoevsky another time, N. N. Skatov notes: "We will remember these words of Dostoevsky's, but now in order to remember Dostoevsky as a whole."

In fact, that "strength in self-condemnation" about which Dostoevsky was speaking is only one side, a part, a link in the integral conception of the very great artist and thinker.

As is known, during the last twenty years of his life Dostoevsky evolved the idea of universality as the essence of our national self-consciousness and--as a consequence--as the fundamental and decisive quality of Russian literature.

This thought is expressed with its greatest fullness in the "Speech on Pushkin" of 1880. In the "Explanatory Words" to this speech Dostoevsky, in particular, said: "I . . . am not trying to equate the Russian people with the Western peoples in the spheres of their economic glory, or scientific glory. I am simply merely saying that the Russian soul and that the genius of the Russian people, perhaps, are the most capable of all of the peoples of accommodating the idea of universal human unity. . . . This is a moral feature, and can anyone deny or dispute that it exists in the Russian people?"

And, indeed: no one ever did deny or dispute this basic idea, although there were quite sharp disputes about the "Speech on Pushkin" as a whole. Despite the fact that Dostoevsky by no means belongs to that circle of writers whose ideas, so to speak, have been canonized and are protected by absolute recognition, for one hundred years his words about the human universality of Russian literature were repeated as something indisputable by very many people and people of the most diverse convictions. In addition, Dostoevsky's idea never, as far as is known to me, has been subjected to a thorough examination; it was, if you wish, accepted on faith. It really does contain, one must think, some kind of intuitively understood indisputability.

But this is not the only point. Dostoevsky completely correctly noted that "this idea has been expressed frequently, and I am not in the least saying anything new." And it is not difficult to convince oneself that this idea which since 1880 has been inseparably bound up with the name of Dostoevsky had been growing to maturity in the movement of modern Russian literature since at least the 1820s. It is present in one or another form in the works of such--incidentally, profoundly different--writers and thinkers as Chaadayev, Ivan Kireyevskiy, Tyutchev, Vladimir Odoyevskiy, Gogol', Belinskiy, Herzen, and Apollon Grigor'yev. In the "Speech on Pushkin" this idea appeared in an especially full, vivid, and supple embodiment; Dostoevsky's speech was indeed, as it were, a final crystallization of Russian literary self-consciousness as a whole. To a large extent it is for this reason that Dostoevsky's main idea was accepted so naturally.



It would seem that we have only to rejoice in Dostoevsky's victory. But the matter is by no means so simple. In the end the constantly repeated words about universality began to resemble a cliché or even simply a bombastic phrase which took on a purely evaluative character and turned into a kind of certificate of honor for Russian literature. Meanwhile, in Dostoevsky's spiritual world--as in that of his predecessors who evolved this idea--it had an extraordinarily complex, contradictory and sometimes even tragic resonance.

To put the issue most straightforwardly and simply, universality appeared in the native self-consciousness both as a profoundly positive, just short of ideal, and at the same time as an unambiguously "negative" quality fraught with the saddest consequences. And this is the place to say that uniqueness in general is almost always regarded as an especial and known positive category. But this is simply illogical: the concept of uniqueness, that is, of a quality which is characteristic of just this particular phenomenon, in no degree bears within itself a proper "positive" content.

The ambiguous meaning of Russian uniqueness was defined simply and clearly by Belinskiy (these thoughts of the critic are quoted quite often, but almost never in full). "There is no point in comparing Russia," he wrote in 1846, "with the old states of Europe whose history moved diametrically opposed to ours and long ago produced flower and fruit. . . . It is known that the French, the English, and the Germans are so national, each in their own way, that they are not capable of understanding one another, while the Russian has an equal understanding of the social nature of the Frenchman, the practical activities of the Englishman, and the heavy-clouded philosophy of the German. Some see in this our superiority over all other peoples; others draw from this very sad conclusions about a lack of character which was cultivated in us by Peter's reform: for, they say, someone who does not have his own life finds it easy to imitate another's, and for someone who does not have his own interests it is easy to understand another's. . . . There is a lot of truth in the latter opinion, but neither is the former entirely without truth, arrogant as it may be. . . ."

Belinskiy summarized in the following manner: "As for the many-sidedness with which a Russian understands nationalities which are strangers to him--in this is equally both his weak and his strong side. . . . We do not assert it as an absolute that the Russian people have been designated to express in its national spirit the richest and a more many-sided content and that this comprises the reason for its astonishing ability to accept and assimilate for itself everything that is alien to it; but we make bold to think that such an idea, as a supposition, expressed without boasting and fanaticism, is not without basis."

As already noted, Belinskiy put forth the problem with the greatest clarity and simplicity. Some people, he says, see in this capacity for universal understanding "our superiority over all other peoples," while others see in it the sad fruit of the lack of "our own life." But if we turn to the spiritual legacy of Chaadayev, it will become clear that for him this kind of division is inconceivable. While denying the existence of "its own life" in Russia (compared to the West) with exceeding sharpness, it was precisely in this that Chaadayev saw

the prime reason for the supremacy of Russian culture over all others (a supremacy which consists above all in the lack of national egotism) and the unshakable foundation for its "universal mission." "We, it can be said, are in a certain way an exceptional people," Chaadayev wrote. "We belong among those nations which are seemingly a part of humanity, but exist only for the purpose of giving the world some kind of important lesson."

In this discourse, which was intended for the press, Chaadayev speaks out too carefully and evasively. He expresses his idea much more clearly in letters of 1835 to A. I. Turgenev (Chaadayev, incidentally, gave these letters to read to a very wide circle of people): "Russia has been called to an immense intellectual work; its task is to provide at the right time the solution to all of the questions which are exciting arguments in Europe. . . . Having the opportunity of looking calmly and with complete impartiality at what is troubling souls there and stirring passions, it, in my view, has received as its destiny a task of providing at the right time the solution to the human riddle."

Even more expressive is another discourse by Chaadayev: ". . . the Russian mind is primarily an impersonal one (compare the above-cited words of Dostoevsky about this "facelessness"--V. K.). The point is that European events can only be evaluated properly from the distance at which we are located from them. We stand with respect to Europe at an historical point of view, or, if you wish, we are the public, and the actors are there, and it is we who have the right to judge the play.

Providence created us too great to be egotists. . . . It has placed us outside of the interests of nationalities and has charged us with the interests of humanity. . . . All of our thoughts, in life, science, and art have to set off from this and come back to this. . . . Our future is in this. . . . We have been called upon . . . to teach Europe an endless number of things which it could not understand without this. . . . Our universal mission has begun."

A kind of summary of Chaadayev's thought is drawn up in his "Apology of a Mad Man" (1837). "Never has a people been less biased in favor of itself than the Russian people. . . . We have been designated by the, so to speak, very nature of things to be a real court of conscience for many litigations which are being conducted before the great tribunals of the human spirit and of human society."

Chaadayev's basic ideas developed in the 1820s-1830s, before the split in native thought into Westernism and Slavophilism, and, in essence, like his friend Pushkin, Chaadayev belongs to neither current. However, in the 1840s-1850s Chaadayev was nevertheless and without sufficient grounds numbered among the Westerners. The statements by the thinker which have just been quoted decisively contradict this "classification."

Reference is very frequently made to the fact that Chaadayev whose thought was constantly turning to the problems of religion (which in his time still remained to a large extent the dominant form of social consciousness) frequently spoke about the advantages of Catholicism over Orthodoxy; this is interpreted as an



irrefutable expression of Chaadayev's Westernism. But, in fact, Chaadayev valued the, so to speak, high level of development of Catholic ideology (compared with Orthodox ideology), and not at all its concrete spiritual essence.

In order to convince oneself of this I believe it is enough to give some thought to the following opinion of Chaadayev's: "Russia has been given the magnificent task of realizing earlier than all other countries all of the promises of Christianity, for Christianity has remained in it (in contrast to Europe--V. K.) untouched by human passions and earthly interests. . . ."

Thus, in the sphere of his understanding of religious problems, Chaadayev was by no means a Westerner; his words clearly anticipate the later solutions of Tyutchev (let us recall at least "These Poor Villages. . . .") and Dostoevsky.

2

But let us turn to Chaadayev's thesis itself of the "universal mission" of Russia, and of its destiny to be a "court of conscience." In these statements by Chaadayev, one can find, it would seem, those vices against which Belinskiy warned in his just cited discourse--"boasting and fanaticism." But let us look carefully into the movement of Chaadayev's thought. First of all, he does not in the slightest believe that the program sketched out by him, the, in his definition, "magnificent program" of Russian culture, has been realized. He looks upon it precisely as a "program," as a "task" which has been placed, in his conviction, before our native culture by History itself. Chaadayev unambiguously wrote that "I loved in my country only its future" and that he was possessed by a "ideal which was not directed to my time." In addition, what was involved, of course, was a "beyond-the-limits" ideal.

On the other hand, the path to this ideal was inseparably bound up by Chaadayev with the spirit of "beautiful selflessness" and with the acts of supreme "renunciation" which had been performed by our native culture. The element of self-renunciation was most vividly embodied for Chaadayev in the personality and fate of Peter the Great. Reflecting on Peter's "renunciation," Chaadayev wrote (in 1843): "It is not the first time that the Russian people made use of this right of renunciation which, of course, every people has, but which not every people likes to use. As often as we do. Note, that for my part, this is not at all a reproach to my people which, of course, is sufficiently great, sufficiently strong, and sufficiently mighty to allow itself with impunity from time to time the luxury of humbleness. This inclination to renunciation . . . is an essential fact or, as it is now customary to say, an organic fact. . . . To deny this essential feature of the national character means to perform an ill service to that very national spirit which we are now so persistently restoring. . . ."

Our history begins first of all with the strange spectacle of the calling in of an alien race to run the country, a call by the citizens of the country themselves--a fact . . . which would be completely inexplicable, if our entire history did not serve it, so to speak, as a commentary. Next there is our conversion to Christianity. . . ."

And so, the "magnificent program" of native culture has, as it were, been paid for at the generous price of unprecedented voluntary self-renunciations.

Forty years passed after Chaadayev's reflections, and Dostoevsky said things to which, one must imagine, Chaadayev could lend his signature: "Europe--but that is a terrible and holy thing, Europe! Oh, do you know, gentlemen, how precious--this very Europe is to us, this 'country of holy miracles'! Do you know how precious these 'miracles' are to us and how we love and revere with more than fraternal feeling, how we love and revere the great tribes which inhabited it and everything great and beautiful which has been accomplished by them. Do you know to what tears and heartaches we are tormented and agitated by the fate of this country which is precious and kindred to us. . . ."

And immediately after this, Dostoevsky poses a so to speak practical question which could not yet have really troubled Chaadayev: "We fear more than anything else that Europe will not understand us and, as in the past, as always, will meet us with superciliousness. . . . It has not understood our basic and chief idea for a long time, too long. It needs facts which are understandable now, understandable to its present view. It will ask us: 'Where is your civilization? Is your economic organization perceived to be in the chaos which we see everywhere in your country? . . .'"

And then Dostoevsky speaks about the "universality" of Russian literature: "This idea was expressed by Pushkin, not just as a statement, a doctrine or a theory, and not as a dream and a prophecy, but as done by him in fact, contained for all eternity in his creations of genius and proven by them. He is a man of the ancient world, he is a German, he is an Englishman deeply aware of his genius and of the anguish of his strivings (Feast During the Plague), and he is the poet of the East. He told all of these peoples and stated to them that the Russian genius knows them, has understood them, and has touched them as kindred, that it can reincarnate itself totally in them, and that only the Russian spirit alone has been given universality and given the purpose in the future of comprehending and uniting all of the different nationalities and of removing all of their contradictions."

But is not this also "boasting and fanaticism"? Again, it has to be said that Dostoevsky is not in the least exaggerating the "achievement" of Russian literature: on the example of Tolstoy's "Anna Karenina" he clearly explains here the real and contemporary meaning of the universality of Russian literature.

"In the eyes of many this book has simply taken on the size of a fact which could answer for us in Europe . . .," says Dostoevsky. "Naturally, they will begin to howl, laughing, that this--is only . . . some kind of novel, that it is funny to exaggerate like this and to appear in Europe with a novel. . . . I myself know that for the time being this is only merely a novel, that it is only a drop of what is needed, but the most important thing for me here is that this drop already exists, has been given, actually exists, in truth, and, consequently, if it already exists, if the Russian genius could give birth to this fact, then, it means, it . . . can begin its own word and say it to the full and to the end when the day and the time comes."

Thus, the universal humanity and universality of Russian literature is not something given beforehand, a ready-made finished quality of it, but its development-deciding task (in Chaadayev's idea), even super-task: it is the creative will which inspires its entire life and which Russian literature in all of its genuine expressions has been unswervingly following.

Dostoevsky frequently spoke about the fact that the idea of universal humanity had been in fact embodied only in a few phenomena of native life. Responding to the critics of his "Speech on Pushkin," he wrote: "They will say again: if there are so few people who confess this idea, then what is the good of it? But how do you know to what good it will lead in the end? Until now, apparently, it was only necessary that the great idea did not die. . . . Yes, a great moral idea is powerful and it unites people in that . . . it is not measured by immediate benefit, but in that it strives to bring their future to eternal goals. . . ."

It is in this way that we must understand the will which lies at the basis of Russian literature.

3

But before turning to an effort to try to understand what this will is, it is necessary to outline at least in general terms the question of its origin and of its real, socio-historical roots, for otherwise it will inevitably take on a mystical character in the eyes of the reader.

This task, of course, is extraordinarily complicated and large; only a fundamental cultural and historical study could bring it to actual accomplishment. But one--and, as it seems to me, the most important aspect of the matter--can be described in a brief discourse.

The universal humanity and universality of Russian literature (and culture) has the profoundest basis in the fact, enormous in its significance, that from the very beginning Russia took form--or even, I dare say, was born--as a multinational country.

All of us remember--although far from always fully understand and appreciate--the stanza from Pushkin's Testament:

My name will be rumored throughout all of great  
Russia,  
and I will be remembered by every nation in it,  
the proud grandson of the Slavs, and the Finn, and the now  
savage  
Tungus, and the friend of the Steppes, the Kalmyk.

If you think about it, we have before us a truly astonishing fact: of the only twenty lines of his Testament the poet regarded it as necessary to devote four lines to the assertion that he created not for the Russian people alone, but in equal and identical measure for all of the peoples of "great Rus"!

It would be difficult to overestimate the full significance of this fact. And, at the same time, it is accepted by us somehow completely naturally. For, in general, it is organic to Russian self-consciousness, to its very root and primordial bases.

Sometimes, it is true, people speak about the allegedly "innovative" vision of Pushkin--in comparison, for example, to Derzhavin who in his "Monument" did not mention the peoples of Russia,--and, on the other hand, about Pushkin's thoroughly individual and purely personal perception of the world which is dictated by the poet's especial "humanity."

However, let us go back 700 odd years and turn to the "Tale of Bygone Years." "The Chud' and the Slovene and the Krivichi and everybody spoke: Our land is great and vast, but there is no order in it. . . ." This is again the story of the calling of the Varyags; but I do not at all intend to speak about its factual content, but about the perception of the world expressed in it of Nestor, or of his predecessor who 800 years (in the year 1037) before Pushkin's "Monument" recorded the legend which was later reproduced by Nestor. In this perception of the world, the Russian tribes stand alongside the Finns (even more than that--the list of tribes begins with Chud'!)."

In Pushkin's eyes, all of the peoples of Russia were the equal possessors of Russian poetry (and, of course, culture as a whole); in Nestor's eyes, these peoples were the equal creators of Russian statehood.<sup>2</sup>

This consciousness of the equal rights of tribes and peoples had to have, without doubt, fundamental earthly, concrete historical roots. And this is convincingly discussed in the introductory lectures of "A Course in Russian History" by V. O. Klyuchevskiy whose ideas were later developed by a large number of historians.

The peoples and tribes who lived within the limits of Ancient Rus', Klyuchevskiy proves, were either "forest" tribes (as the majority of Finnish tribes were), or "steppe" tribes (like the Torki, Berendei, Kovui, Black Klobuki and others); meanwhile, the Russian tribes themselves settled at that time either on the border of a forest and steppe or in river valleys (that is on the border of a forest and river). For this reason, relations of incompatibility did not arise between the Russians and their neighbors in the country. It can be asserted with full justice that the various clashes between the Russian and other peoples of Kievan Rus' were no more frequent and no more sharp than the clashes between the individual Russian tribes and--later--between the princedoms.

V. O. Klyuchevskiy wrote that the steppe to the south of Kiev was "settled by Russians and peaceful nomads, Torki, Berendei, and even Pechenegi . . . who were neighbors of Rus'. . . . In contrast to the wild Polovtsy, the Russians called them "our Poganyye."

The word "Poganyye" (which means simply "pagans") had currency for only that relatively brief historical period when the Russians had already adopted



Christianity, while the other peoples and tribes of Kievan Rus' still preserved their pagan beliefs. But it is important to keep in mind that these peoples and tribes were in the eyes of the Russians "ours" long before the christening of Rus' (incidentally, the above-cited legend about the calling of the Varyags relates to a pre-Christian time).

But this is not the only point. The very understanding of the essence of Christianity in Rus' had a completely unique character which was determined by the preceding history of the people. This was expressed with complete forcefulness and clarity in one of the most ancient creations of Russian literature (and at the same time--Russian thought)--"The Sermon on Law and Grace" by Ilarion (around 1050).<sup>3</sup> D. S. Likhachev is completely correct in saying: "The 'Sermon on Law and Grace' of Metropolitan Ilarion is of exceptional importance. This work thematically is directed to the future of Russia, and in the perfection of its form indeed seems to anticipate this future."

In the very first phrase of the "Sermon" it is stated that God "first directed the tribe of Abraham with tables and the law, and later with His Son saved all of the peoples."

There are two ideas at the basis of the whole of Ilarion's discourse. First, there is the idea of grace as such which, in contrast to the law (given to people as a necessity without a suggestion of any kind of "choice" which meant, in Ilarion's conviction, spiritual slavery) is the embodiment of spiritual freedom. More than once Ilarion opposes the concepts "law" and "grace" (which are defined by him, in particular, as the "shadow of truth" and the "truth") precisely as embodiments of "slavery" and "freedom."<sup>4</sup> He says that in relation to the law man is a "slave," while in relation to grace he is a "son."

Ilarion's second--but not separate, organically connected with the first--idea consists in the fact that the law with necessity is turned to a single people, while grace is turned to all peoples. Strictly speaking, this idea is not only connected with the first one; for Ilarion the fact that grace is turned to all peoples is what embodies its concrete difference from, or, more correctly, its opposition to the law. Ilarion, as the contemporary historian of ancient Russian literature N. V. Vodovozov proves, "elucidates the relationship of the law to grace. . . . The law (the Old Testament)--is nationally limited, and expresses the idea of the selection by God of a single people and of the superiority of this people over all others. Grace (the New Testament)--has a universal character, and expresses the idea of the equality of all peoples. For this reason, the Old Testament is slavery, and the New Testament is freedom."

Thus, Ilarion gave a completely peculiar understanding of the essence of Christianity: grace (and at the same time--"truth") consists in the fact that Christianity is directed in equal measure toward all peoples. And this means that grace, unlike the law, is not imposed with necessity upon a people (which appears, consequently, as the "slave" of its law), but is a gift which is freely and voluntarily accepted by every people (that is, grace in the true meaning of this word). As Ilarion says: "humanity is crowded in the law, but walks freely in grace. . . ."

It can be said with full justice that we are dealing here with not so much Christian as with Russian consciousness (which was cited in the above-quoted tale about the calling of the Varyags which has nothing to do with Christianity)--a consciousness which took shape in multi-national Kievan Rus'.

The following fact is to the highest degree instructive. At the very end of his discourse on the law and grace, Ilarion decided to confirm the idea of grace being turned to all peoples with references to the sacred writings. He concluded his discourse with a whole collection of quotations (there are a dozen and a half of them). However, all of these quotations which were clearly not collected by Ilarion without much searching are taken not from the New, but from the Old Testament. Ilarion quotes the prophet Isaiah: "The Lord will open His sacred . . . before all the peoples" and "Bend every knee and every people profess God"; Daniel: "all peoples, people, and tribes . . ."; the Book of Songs: "Peoples rejoice and be merry!" and "To know your way on earth, your salvation in all peoples" and "All peoples clap your hands. . . ." and so forth.

Ilarion could not find a single quotation dealing with "all peoples" in the New Testament. As for the quotations from the Old Testament, Ilarion clearly over-interprets them. Take, for example, the last of the above quotations--from the forty-sixth [sic] Psalm: "All peoples, clap your hands...." If you continue the quotation, an entirely different meaning comes to light: "...For the Lord Most High is terrible; He is a great King over all the earth. He shall subdue the people under us, and the nations under our feet." It is obvious that this has nothing to do with that "universal humanity" with which the "Sermon on the Law and on Grace" is permeated. And so, Ilarion expressed not a strictly Christian, but a Russian idea--and precisely that one which almost 1,000 years later became embodied in Dostoevsky's Pushkin speech.

4

But in Dostoevsky's Pushkin speech there is a completely clear and even sharp statement about the opposite side of Russian originality. Dostoevsky shows that it was precisely from this uniqueness that there arose the boundless kow-towing to Europe which was hateful to him and which had been engendered by the perception of the world which Dostoevsky outlined, in particular, in the following way: "...our people is beggarly and it stinks, as it has always been, and it can have neither face nor idea. The entire history of our people is absurd. . . .

We will provide the bases for its formation and will begin with what we ourselves began, that is, in a denial by it of its entire past, and in a curse to which it is supposed to consign its past. We have hardly taught a man from the people reading and writing, when immediately we force him to sniff at Europe, immediately begin to seduce him with Europe, well at least with the refinement of its life, decencies, dress, drinks, dances--in a word, we compel him to be ashamed of his former bast shoes and kvas, to be ashamed of his ancient songs, and although there are several beautiful and musical ones among them, we nevertheless compel him to sing rhymed vaudeville. . . . For a good goal we will act with the most numerous

and all kinds of means above all on the weak tendons of character, as it was with us, and then our people. It will be ashamed of its past and curse it."

Sometimes the opinion is expressed that this unmasking of the opposite side of universality is peculiar only to Dostoevsky--with his, so to speak, agrarian maximalism. However, in fact, this opposite side was in one way or another spoken about by all of Dostoevsky's predecessors who developed the idea of Russian universality. Thus, Chaadayev who so passionately summoned Russian culture to become a world culture wrote with deep sadness in 1846 to his French acquaintance, Count Sircoeur: ". . . I have taken up my pen to ask you to arrange for the publication of an article by our friend Khomyakov which has been translated by me and which he would like to place in one of your periodical publications. . . . The best method of compelling our public to appreciate works of our native literature is to make them the property of the broad strata of European society. No matter how inclined we already are now to trust our own judgement, nevertheless the old habit of being guided by the opinion of our public is still dominant among us. . . . Progress is still impossible in our country without appeals to the court of Europe."

It is remarkable that at that very same time, in his article "A View of Russian Literature in 1846," Belinskiy tried to persuade the native public: "We do not at all have to constantly turn to Europe in order to know our own needs: and on the basis of what we have already learned from Europe we are sufficiently able to judge about what we need."

But still the problem is not so easy. We shall still return to the negative, sometimes tragically negative, consequences of this constant "looking back" at Europe which is characteristic of our national self-consciousness. But it is impossible not to emphasize with complete resolution that in principle this constant turning to the "court" of Europe was entirely natural and even necessary--especially because Europe in a definite sense represented the entire world.

Ivan Kireyevskiy, completing his first programmatic article in 1829, posed a question which since then has never come off the agenda: "If an enlightened European . . . asks us: 'Where is your literature? What works can you show to Europe in pride?'--what will we reply to him?" As is known, these words of Kireyevskiy's were quoted sympathetically by Pushkin who a year later wrote in his own name: "Our literature can display to Europe with pride Karamzin's History, a few odes, and a few fables. . . ."

A half century later Dostoevsky was already speaking about "Anna Karenina" as a fact "which we could point out to Europe." True, Dostoevsky immediately qualified this: "Alas, no matter how much we point out, our writers will not be read for a long time in Europe, and when they begin to read them, it will take another long time before they understand and appreciate them." Dostoevsky made a decided mistake in the first sentence--only some 10 or 15 years later Russian literature was at the center of the attention of cultured Europe. But the essence of the matter is not at all in whether Europe reads or does not read Russian writers:



the essence is that our very native literature always created and made itself as it were before the court of the entire world (and most closely--Europe), and this has been embodied in it with absolute definiteness.

It could seem that this contradicts Chaadayev's idea described above that it is Russian culture which has been designated to be the "court of conscience" in the world and that "if you wish, we are the public, and the actors are there, and we have the right to judge the play." But there is no contradiction here, for, in Chaadayev's conception the absolutely necessary basis for realizing this universal mission was an unbiased and merciless trial of oneself. Chaadayev grounded the right "to judge" itself by the fact that "never before has a single people been less biased with regard to itself than the Russian people."

And none other than Chaadayev himself provided in his first "Philosophical Letter" a most vivid model of that "merciless self-trial" in which N. N. Skatov correctly sees one of the key properties of the Russian national character. Moreover, by the way, Chaadayev admitted that "there was an exaggeration in that act of indictment presented to a great people"--admitted it, but by no means repented of what he had done and immediately pointed to the fact that almost simultaneously with the publication of his "Philosophical Letter" Gogol's "Revizor" had been staged at the Malyy Theater: "Let us recall that soon after the publication of the ill-starred article<sup>5</sup> . . . a new play was played on our stage. And never before had any people been so scourged, never before had any country been so dragged through the mud, and never before was so much coarse abuse flung into the face of the public, and, however, never had a greater success been achieved."

The boundlessness of the ideal is inseparably tied up to the "mercilessness of self-trial." It is important to call attention to the fact that we are dealing with a primary and primordial property of Russian literature, for the point of view is widespread that this pathos of self-censure developed in Russian literature only in the 1820s-1830s. M. M. Bakhtin has revealed the unexampled uniqueness of the "Slovo o Polku Igoreve" in a number of other epics: in the center of the "Slovo" is not a victorious heroic feat and not even a heroic death, but a tragic disgracing of himself by the hero. Igor' is disgraced, although he sought "honor and glory"--the same that was sought by the heroes of many ancient epics; for the Russian consciousness this proves to be insufficient. Alexander Nevsky's motto--"I will lay down my soul for my friends"--could be a genuine basis for heroism, but not in aspiration, even the "loftiest" one, for honor and glory as such.

5

However, let us return to the historical embodiment of the element of self-renunciation in which Chaadayev saw an essential feature of native life and consciousness. Let us turn to the relationships between Rus' and Byzantium.

In the world with which Rus' had contact during the period of its establishment Byzantium, the Eastern Roman Empire, was the country with the highest culture; it would be even more true to say that in Byzantium, which was the direct and

immediate inheritor of the thousand-year development of ancient culture, there was a completely different level of culture than in the other countries of the Europe and Near East of that time.

The history of the relations between Rus' and Byzantium begins with a whole period of wars in which Rus' won quite a few victories. But at the end of the tenth century, having achieved under Vladimir Svyatoslavovich its greatest might, Rus' performs an unprecedented act: it accepts Byzantine culture completely voluntarily, thereby as it were recognizing its superiority, and, moreover, this acceptance is by no means thought of as a weakness, but, on the contrary, as an expression of strength and confidence in one's independence.

Despite individual later conflicts, the relationships of Rus' to Byzantine culture remain unchanged. In order to explain the character of these relationships it is sufficient to think about the name which the people of Kiev and then Moscow Rus' gave to Constantinople--Tsargrad; that is, the crown of cities. And here also it is not a "slavish" adoration of the foreign that is being expressed, but a free acknowledgement of the obvious.

In order to understand the entire highly profound meaning of the event which took place in the tenth century, it is necessary to look into the way that Western Europe was establishing itself.

The German tribes began the history with the destruction of the ancient world. True, during the course of the following one thousand years they gradually--more and more actively and consciously--assimilated its cultural heritage. But now they had to do precisely with a heritage, and not with a living cultural organism. . . .

The most powerful expressor of west-European self-consciousness, Hegel, said in his "Philosophy of History" (incidentally, at the very time when Chaadayev was creating his "Philosophical Letters"): "The German<sup>6</sup> spirit is the spirit of the new world whose purpose consists in the realization of the absolute truth as the infinite self-definition of freedom. . . . The principle of spiritual freedom . . . was set in . . . the souls of the German peoples, and they were given the task . . . of freely creating in the world, proceeding from their subjective self-consciousness. . . . The Germans began in . . . subjugating the decrepit and rotting states of the civilized peoples. . . . True, the Western world raced into other countries during the Crusades, and during the discovery and conquest of America, but it did not come into contact there with a world historical people which had preceded it. . . . Here (that is, in the Western world--V. K.) the attitude toward the external world is only concomitant to the historical process. . . . In it (the Western world--V. K.) there lived a completely new spirit thanks to which the world was supposed to be revitalized, and, namely, a free, independent, and absolutely self-willed subjectivity."

And so, for the West which had grown up on the "rotten" ruins of the overthrown world (whose culture the conquerors at the given stage of their development were not yet able to appreciate and accept) only one complete "subject" existed in

the new world--it itself; the entire remaining world was only an "object" for its activity. As Chaadayev said simultaneously with Hegel: "Europe seems to have enveloped the earth . . . all of the remaining human tribes . . . exist as it were with its assent." This world situation of Western culture is fraught with the most severe consequences which in our time have shown themselves to the West itself with a cruel clarity.

True, while being aware of all this, it is impossible to overestimate the greatness of the West's history. Relying entirely on itself, it actually was a triumph of freedom of action and thought. Its history is a genuinely heroic mastery of the world.

Yet, in our day, a century and a half after Hegel's apotheosis of Western heroism, entirely other aspects of the matter are coming to the forefront. Not too long ago the literary critic I. B. Rodnyanskaya described the extremely characteristic position of one of the most prominent contemporary historians of the culture of the West--Lynn White--which was expressed in his work "Historic Roots of our Ecological Crisis." The subject under discussion is the principles of the attitude of Western culture to the natural world; but these same principles also completely determine the West's attitude toward other peoples and their cultures (which becomes clear, in particular, from Hegel's above-cited opinions).

"The author," I. B. Rodnyanskaya writes about the work of L. White, "sees the remote ideological and psychological premises of the current ecological crisis in the Judeo-Christian doctrine of man as a super-natural being and the crown of creation--more exactly, in that cultural modification of Christian anthropological doctrine which was characteristic for the Western European Middle Ages. . . ."

Our (that is, Western European--V. K.) everyday habits are conditioned by our latent faith in continuous progress whose sources go back to Judeo-Christian teleology. . . . According to the Judeo-Christian doctrine, God created everything for the good of man, and not a single thing or creature has any other purpose other than to serve man and his goals. . . ."

Further, the problem of the profound "contrast" between western and eastern Christianity is dealt with.

"Western consciousness," L. White asserts, "is no longer capable of giving up its anthropocentrism. . . . We have an arrogant and contemptuous attitude toward nature and are prepared to use it to satisfy our every whim."<sup>8</sup> This conception is in need of one very important clarification. Matters, no doubt, were by no means such that the West (in contrast to the East) was fatally compelled to accept just this "modification" of Christianity. The West chose and assimilated it, because it, as they say, corresponded completely to its historical practice in which it relied only upon itself and acted as a kind of god in relation to the external world.

Yes, Western man was indeed conscious of himself in relation to the "external world"--the natural and human world--as a "man-god". This was an absolutely necessary basis for Western heroism, for Western free creativity. But, at the same time, it meant that Byzantium and the kingdom of the Aztecs, India and China, and, of course, Russia--are only objects for the application of the West's efforts and do not have any world historical meaning.

Hegel's characterization of Byzantium which in his "Philosophy of History" immediately precedes his apotheosis of the Western world is extremely instructive: "The history of the highly formed Eastern Roman Empire . . . seems to us to be a one-thousand-year series of incessant crimes, weaknesses, vilenesses, and displays of lack of character, a most horrible and for this reason most uninteresting picture."

It is entirely understandable that the numerous attacks by the Crusaders which played an enormous role in the destruction of Byzantium were regarded in the West as completely justified (Hegel states here with satisfaction that "finally, the decrepit edifice of the Eastern Roman Empire . . . was destroyed by the energetic Turks."). This concept of the Eastern Roman Empire not only held absolute sway over the West until very recently, but--beginning with the 18th century--also exercised a very powerful influence on Russian consciousness. There is still a great deal of work to do to restore Byzantium's true face; in recent years a great deal has been done in this direction in the works of S. S. Averintsev.

But in this case it is not even the concrete "virtues" or "defects" of Byzantium that are important for us. The essential point is that Rus' met with it as with a living independent creator of culture, while the West, which nourished itself on the legacy of the already dead ancient world, also perceived Byzantium solely as material for its activities and which it could either destroy (as the culture of the Aztecs was destroyed) or "use" for its own self-affirmation (as England "used" India).

Meanwhile, Rus', having met with Byzantium, conducted a living dialogue with it for almost a half a millenium, and the destruction of the Eastern Roman Empire was for it a heavy loss. It was at that time that there arose the idea of the Third Rome which for two centuries determined much in the life of Rus'. But the unique nature of Russian culture had already taken form. After two centuries, during the course of which (that is from the end of the 15th to the end of the 17th centuries) the West had undergone a powerful and rapid development, Petrovian Russia, as if refuting the prophecy of the Monk Filofey that there would be no Fourth Rome, accepted the West precisely as a kind of new Rome. . . .

Speaking about the fact that the Russian people contained in its soul "an inclination toward universal responsiveness and universal acceptingness," Dostoevsky especially emphasized: "Our aspiration to learn from Europe, even with all of its enthusiasms and extremes, was not only legitimate and judicious in its basis, but also of a folk spirit, coinciding fully with the aspirations of the folk spirit itself. . . ."



One has to imagine that it is clear from what has been said above that universal humanity--as the long conscious most important property of Russian literature--has nothing in common with that ideological phenomenon which is more or less fully covered by the concept of "cosmopolitanism" and which was alien to all of the genuine figures of Russian literature. Belinskiy, as is known, resolutely stated: "I would rather go over to the side of the Slavophiles than remain on the side of the humanistic cosmopolitans" for whom, in Belinskiy's definition, "nationality . . . expresses everything in the people that is immobile, coarse, organic, and unthinking and is diametrically opposed to everything human."

According to Dostoevsky's conviction, universal humanity is a profoundly folk property which goes back to the very depth of the folk's sense of the world, a property that is precisely "organic." And Russian literature became aware of, but did not create this property.

"We do not regard nationality as the last word and the final goal of humanity," Russian literature asserted through Dostoevsky's lips. "Only a general humanness can live a full life. But general humanness is not achieved in any other way than by each people emphasizing its nationality. The idea . . . of nationalities is the support point. . . ."

All of the great Russian writers were perfectly well aware of the fact that the pathos of universal humanity, when torn away from its folk basis, engenders tendencies of a cosmopolitan character about which Dostoevsky spoke with the greatest sharpness. To preserve and develop the unity of the folk spirit and of universal humanity is not only a highly difficult, but in the full meaning of the word a creative task which needs for its realization not only a wise understanding of it, but strenuous and inspired creative work.

And if there occurs a break, a collapse of the unity of universal humanity and the folk spirit, the former degenerates into cosmopolitanism, while the latter degenerates into nationalism. Both of these phenomena, however, are characteristic only of purely lateral, peripheral lines of Russian literature; its basic, pivotal movement always preserved the unity of universal humanity and folk spirit.

It is worth emphasizing for greater clarity that cosmopolitanism and nationalism are also in their way interconnected: nationalism, by affirming a single nation at the expense of all others, in essence demands from these others that they take cosmopolitan positions (this is to the highest degree characteristic, for example, for such an extreme form of nationalism as Zionism). On the other hand, it is precisely under the pressure of cosmopolitan tendencies that nationalism is born--as their direct and primitive counter-weight. . . .

Dostoevsky frequently and with complete clarity proclaimed the idea of universal humanitarianism and the national spirit in Russian culture. He said, for example, that in the "universal responsiveness" of Pushkin's genius "its national Russian strength was expressed to its utmost, precisely the national spirit of his poetry was expressed, the national spirit in his further development, the national spirit of our future which is concealed already in our present and has

been expressed prophetically. For what then is the strength of spirit of the Russian folk if not the aspiration in its final goals toward universality and toward universal humanity?"

6

Thus, the character of Russia's relations to Byzantium and later to the West (we are talking about the actual nature of these relations, and not about the concrete content which Russian culture acquired during the centuries of these relations) determined the ability and need of Russian literature to constantly look at itself not only "from within," but at the same time also as it were from the side, with the eyes of the "outside" world, and to feel and to conceive of itself as before the eyes of this world and even before its court of judgment.

That power of "self-trial" which penetrated Russian literature and which has already been discussed was determined by this fact. Meanwhile, from time to time voices could be heard in the literature which called for this power to be somehow moderated.

Thus, for example, the critic and literary scholar, P. S. Kogan, who was very influential at his time, quoted this highly characteristic monologue from Bunin's tale "The Village": ". . . dear God! They killed Pushkin, and they killed Lermontov. . . . They've strangled Ryleyev, sent Polezhayev to be a soldier, and shut Shevchenko up for ten years as a prisoner. . . . Dostoevsky they dragged off to the firing squad, and Gogol' went out of his mind. Oh, is there another such country in the world, another such people, be it thrice cursed?"--and tried to oppose a "logically" valid objection to it: "Without hesitation I replied: There is. And not only a country. All of Europe and, perhaps, the entire world.

Indeed, Cervantes was put away in prison, Byron was persecuted, Torquato Tasso was tormented in a hospital for years, Oscar Wilde was made to rot at hard labor, Chenier was executed, Nietzsche "went off his mind" and so forth. One could continue the enumeration without end, and if we follow Bunin's logic we will have to conclude: "Is there another such planet in the universe, other such beings, be they thrice cursed?"

Factually and purely "logically" P. S. Kogan is without doubt absolutely right. But if we take pure logic as our basis, we would have to rewrite the whole of Russian literature anew.

Thus, this literature repeatedly held such a merciless court over Ivan IV that the sculptor Mikeschin, creating his "One Thousand Years of Russia" monument in 1862, had to exclude this czar from the 109 figures of outstanding historical personages sculpted by him. Meanwhile, it would be entirely logical to recall that during a single night on 24 August 1572 (incidentally, just the year when the oprichnina was abolished) on an order from the French King Charles IX approximately as many people "guilty" only of being Catholics were bestially killed as were killed by Ivan the Terrible's executioners during the eight years

of the oprichnina. It would be just as appropriate to also recall that on the order of another contemporary of Ivan IV--the English King Henry VIII--72,000 people were pitilessly hung for being "guilty" of the fact that they had become vagabonds as a result of the "enclosures"--that is, the conversion of the lands rented by them into sheep pastures. . . . Or that during the rule of yet another contemporary of Ivan IV, the Spanish King Charles V, around 100,000 heretics were executed and, moreover, a large number of them were subjected to being burned in public.

But all such reminders would be completely senseless and useless. Their full "uselessness" is revealed with exceeding clarity in the fact that Ivan the Terrible himself repented in agony and mercilessly condemned himself for the executions which had been committed on his orders!

The essential point explains an episode from the spiritual fate of Alexander Herzen with remarkable expressiveness. In 1847 he left for the West, carrying with himself, as an unhealed wound and as a clot of pain and shame for his homeland, the memory of the five executed Decembrists and the 116 exiled to Siberia. And then in June 1848 he became the shaken witness of the execution of around 11,000 rebellious Parisians, and then the "deportation" of around 14 additional thousands to the Pacific Ocean tropical island of Nukah-iva.

It was as if a shudder had gone through Herzen's self-consciousness. . . . In his account of this monstrous terror (in his "Letters From France and Italy") there is a comparison between France and Russia (and the subject is the fate of the Decembrists)--and clearly not in favor of the former:

"The Cossacks . . . in comparison to the bourgeoisie . . . are angels of meekness. . . .

The French in general like to oppress. You know how during the last century they "liberated" Italy and what hatred they awakened in Spain--but this is nothing compared to what they are like in civil strife: here they become bloodthirsty beasts, butchers from Bartholomew's Night. . . . Nukah-iva is far superior to Siberia. In Siberia the climate is ferocious, but not murderous, and those who are sent there for settlement (deportation). . . are not forced to do piece work as in the French penal colonies. . . ."

And Herzen was even inclined to the conclusion that there was some kind of pathological cruelty in the French in general. He recalls the "civil" war at the end of the 18th century: "In Marseilles the Royalists put to the sword and beat to death all of the Marmalukes and their wives and children. In another place Catholics attacked Protestants who were coming out of church; some of them they killed, and stripping them nude, they dragged their daughters naked through the streets. . . . But did the Jacobins behave better in the departments? No, no better. But this is not only not comforting, but, on the contrary, it puts one into despair that here is the irrefutable proof of the bloodthirstiness of the French. From whatever side victory comes--'leave behind all hope,' they are merciless and not magnanimous--they applaud every success and every bloody measure. . . .



I am ashamed for, I blush for France. . . ."

And at that same time, in a private letter addressed to his "Moscow friends," Herzen, who had fled from Russia, speaks unheard-of words: "God grant that the Russians take Paris, it is time to put an end to this stupid Europe. . . ." (!)--and foreseeing that these words would cause amazement and indignation among his friends in Moscow, accuses them: "You would like France and Europe as opposed to Russia, just as the Christians wanted heaven as opposed to the earth. . . . Could you really believe in the possibility of such military despotism and slavery . . . if mores and ideas had not made it possible in advance? . . .

What is most terrible is that not a single Frenchman is offended by what is happening."

Thus, Herzen is ashamed and blushes for France, while France itself (what is most terrible!) does not feel any shame at all. . . . Nevertheless, Herzen does not change his position: some time will pass, and he will address the world with his "polar star" on the cover of which are the luminous silhouettes of the five Russian martyrs. . . .

Let us again recall Dostoevsky's words: "There is good reason why we have shown such power in self-condemnation which amazes all foreigners" which "is by itself a sign of supreme exceptionality." And indeed, in the eyes of the West the image of Ivan the Terrible or the execution of the Decembrists overshadowed the images of its own bloody kings and its numberless executions. In 1826, exactly one week after the erection of five secret gallows in the Peter and Paul Fortress, in Spain, one more of the several dozen thousands of heretics was burned before crowds of people over a hissing and blinding fire. But who remembers about this and shudders--the way they remember and shudder about the Decembrists? And, of course, no one "is ashamed" . . . .

Ivan Kireyevskiy had already written about one fundamental difference--about the fact that the man of the West "generally speaking, is almost always satisfied with his moral condition; almost any European is always ready, striking his breast with pride, to say to himself and to others that his conscience is quite calm and that he is absolutely clean before God and people. . . . The Russian, in contrast to this, always has a lively feeling of his shortcomings and, the higher he goes up the ladder of moral development, the more he demands from himself and for this reason is less satisfied with himself. When he deviates from the true path he . . . even in passionate moments of enthusiasm is always ready to be aware of its (the enthusiasm's--V. K.) moral illegality."

Later, Dostoevsky frequently spoke about the same thing: ". . . allow that there is brutality and sin in our people, but here is what is indisputably in it: that is the fact that it, in its whole, at least (and not solely in ideal, but in the most actual reality) never accepts, will not accept, and will not wish to accept its sin for the truth!"

It is not even a matter only of "sin"; much later, in 1943, Mikhail Prishvin wrote about an irresistible feeling of "shame for my Russianness, for my excessive Russianness. . . . But shame is the least of it. I, a pure-blooded Yeletskiy descendant of my great Russian tribe, in meeting with any people--an Englishman, a Frenchman, a Tatar, a German (take note: all of a sudden no one will notice--this was written in 1943!--V. K.), a Mordvin, or a Lopar--always felt their superiority in something. Reasoning, of course, I understood that my people also had some kind of superiority of its own, but in a meeting I always lost this theoretically recognized superiority, being captivated by the virtues of others."

Anticipating, it is worth noting that its absolute "own superiority" is expressed precisely in this ability to "feel the superiority" of others. . . .

7

It is the fundamental ability and irresistible need for "self-trial" that expressed itself with full force in the self-criticism of art which is also characteristic of native thought. For the West, the point of view, position, and will of art is something supreme and not subject to judgment.<sup>10</sup>

Meanwhile, Russian literature is thoroughly permeated with a spirit of self-criticism. It reaches its limit in the creative consciousness of Tolstoy. "There are no greater underpinnings," Tolstoy wrote, "for an egotistical and calm life than occupation with art. . . . The despot and the scoundrel must love art." This is directly contrary to the famous Shakespearean lines:

. . . He who is cold to charming harmony,  
Could be a traitor and a liar.

On the other hand, with Dostoevsky, the correctness and absoluteness of the ethical content of art is constantly being subjected to merciless doubt and testing, which can be seen especially clearly, for example, in "Notes from the Underground," "The Dream of a Ridiculous Man," and "The Legend of the Grand Inquisitor." That which is the last and finally indissoluble nucleus of "good," "freedom," and "truth" (in the meaning of justice) in the art of Dickens or Hugo, in Russian literature unexpectedly appears as narrowness, self-satisfaction, and dogmatism. Against seemingly indisputable ideals which have been sanctioned forever other--truly "beyond-the-limit"--ideals are advanced. Dostoevsky struggled constantly and sharply against the perception of the world according to which "good and evil have been defined and weighed, and their size and degree have been determined historically by the wise men of humanity."

The self-criticism of art expressed itself with palpable force in Gogol's "self-immolation," in Tolstoy's unrestrained negation of all art and--not so dramatically (or even tragically as with Gogol')--in the concentration of a very substantial part of Dostoevsky's creative energy on the "Diary of a Writer" which shows that the artist's will did not find enough room in art as such.

The sometimes catastrophic excursions beyond the limits of literature should not, of course, be idealized or turned into some kind of norm. They are extreme, if you wish, extremist expressions of the inner creative will of Russian literature. One can take delight in them as indicators of this same will, but one also has to see that in such "extremes" it risks losing (and in some cases does indeed lose) its creative and constructive character.

"The second volume of 'Dead Souls' was burned because that is what had to be done," wrote Gogol'. "It is necessary to die first in order to come back to life."

But we know that the second volume did not come back to life. . . . There is a measure in self-criticism which cannot be crossed, although it is far from always possible to observe it.

At the same time, it must not be forgotten that precisely this limitlessness of the creative will gave birth to the supreme values of Russian literature.

Let us recall Hegel's realization of the essential foundation of the West: "The principle of spiritual freedom . . . was set . . . in the souls of the German peoples, and they were given the task . . . of freely creating in the world, proceeding from their subjective self-consciousness." This means that, once having been born, the West was called upon only to develop its potentialities. Meanwhile, Russian development appears as a series of ever new births--more exactly, of spiritual "resurrections" after self-negation.<sup>11</sup> This is also typical for the writer's and artist's path. His self-negation (if, of course, it does not cross that border beyond which the anarchy of unstoppable destruction reigns) is completed by the resurrection of art and his new birth which present the highest artistic values. Let us recall that in the development of Tolstoy "War and Peace" was preceded by the absolute negation of art which was expressed, in particular, in Tolstoy's complete withdrawal into pedagogical work.

But the fundamental property of Russian literature which is being discussed here is embodied, of course, not only in the "death" and "resurrection" of art--this is only the most general, so to speak, global manifestation of the essential point, a manifestation which even goes far beyond the borders of art itself and of the artistic world, embracing real behavior, the real fate of the artist (he ceases to create, destroys his works, and in the end himself perishes like Gogol'. . . .) Gogol's words--"it is necessary first to die in order to be resurrected"--also have a direct relationship to the basic artistic content of Russian literature in its highest expressions. Thus, to put it simply, the heroes of Russian literature "behave" themselves like its creators. . . .

In asserting that nothing in Western literature could "equal" "Anna Karenina", Dostoevsky was basing himself above all on the scene in which Anna, giving birth, is at the edge of death:

" . . . petty, insignificant, and false people suddenly became true and just people worthy of the name human--through the natural force of a natural law, the law of human death. . . . The latter grew in the former, and the former (Vronskiy)

suddenly became the latter, completely lost their halo, and were lowered; but, lowered, they became immeasurably better, more worthy, and more truthful than when they were first and high."

This "to die in order to be resurrected" does indeed define a deep essence of Russian literature, beginning with the "Slovo o Polku Igoreve" whose hero "dies" in the ruinous shame of captivity (this was discussed above) in order to be "resurrected" in the lament of Yaroslavna. . . .

At the stage of its highest development, in the 19th century, this most essential direction of Russian literature leads to the fact that in its content and in the images of its heroes there is a build-up and growth of a, so to speak, special stratum of artistic existence and meaning which is not characteristic for Western literature. In comparison with its heroes, the basic heroes of Russian literature possess, in particular, a kind of surplus self-consciousness.

One can say, for example, that up to a certain point and moment of their artistic existence Raskol'nikov and Andrey Boklonskiy are close to and even of the same type as the heroes of Balzac (Raskol'nikov) and Stendhal (Boklonskiy). But the real nature of these heroes is revealed only when they find a higher self-consciousness which, as it were, devalues their previous existence and consciousness (the murder in "Crime and Punishment" and the instant on the edge of death under the sky of Austerlitz in "War and Peace").

We are speaking, of course, not about an external and superficial "build-up," but about an enormous deepening of the image, about the "growth" of its human depth. And, at the same time, the hero, as it were, spiritually grows beyond himself and from this height evaluates himself and his life anew (this growth is connected with the ability inherent in Russian literature of seeing and judging oneself "from the side," with the eyes of the world; in this respect also, the hero is akin to his creator).

The point of view exists according to which Western and Russian literature differ from one another above all in that the former discovered and with full force affirmed the human individual, while the latter embodied the element of the people with unprecedented power. There is no doubt some truth in this. Nevertheless, the matter is much more complex. For it has to be noted that it is precisely in Russian literature that the individual appeared with a previously unknown scope and depth; from this point of view the images of the heroes of Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, and Leskov truly have no equals. To put it briefly, Russian literature developed and, more than that, transformed both "subjects" of artistic recreation--both the individual and the people's; in addition, both sides are inseparably and organically interconnected.

Here again it is appropriate to compare the heroes of Russian literature and the personalities of its creators. The creative work of Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, or Leskov clearly testifies to the fact that their consciousness was a sonorous embodiment of the full integral entirety of their people--and this actually was the case. And it is for this reason that the personalities of these creators of



Russian literature (and of the heroes created by them) possess such magnificence and depth.

The difference between Russian literature and Western literature in this respect is so essential that it is quite useful to make use of different concepts in order to define their content: in Western literature we have before us the individual and the nation (that is, the national community of people), while in Russian literature we have the personality and the people.

This, of course, demands an explanation. The concepts "individual" and "nation" bear within themselves above all the meaning of being set off and of demarcation: the individual and the nation are something totally independent, and this is unlike other individuals and nations. Meanwhile, in "personality" and "people" what is important is not so much their independence and their demarcation off from others as their inner depth which contains universal value.

The human personality is valuable above all not in its singularity and uniqueness (although, of course, it is impossible without this), but in the wealth of its content and in its spiritual height which are of importance for all humanity. In exactly the same way, in the people paramount importance and value are represented not by its inimicable features (although without them it is inconceivable), but by the universal meaning of its existence which has value for all peoples.

All of this has manifold consequences in the world of art. Thus, while in Western literature the idea of the freedom of the individual appears as the central and, in a certain sense, even a self-goal idea, in Russian literature this idea is clearly secondary and retreats to the background.

"Not freedom, but will"--asserts Tolstoy's Fedor Protasov, meaning the true and supreme value of existence. The will of the personality, as it is in Russian literature, is directed toward world and universal existence, and those "nearby" external restrictions which are capable of completely destroying the freedom of the individual prove to be for this will only hindrances, difficulties, and obstacles--yes, severe ones, but unable to crush it.

The scene from "War and Peace" in which the prisoner Pierre Bezukhov laughs at the French soldiers can serve as a most characteristic expression of this:

"They have caught me and have locked me up. They are keeping me in captivity. Who is me? Me? Me--my immortal soul! Ha, ha, ha! . . . .

A full moon stood high in the bright sky. Forests and fields, which had not been visible before outside the camp site, now open themselves up to sight in the distance. And even beyond these forests and fields the bright, wavering, beckoning infinite distance could be seen. Pierre looked at the sky, into the depth of the departing, playing stars. 'And all of this is mine, all of this is in me, and all of this is me!' Pierre thought. 'And all of this they caught and imprisoned in a booth surrounded by boards!' He smiled and went to get ready for sleep."

It must also be seen that the fullest freedom for the individual gives nothing to the will of the personality which aspires toward existence and meaning, which lie beyond the limits of this freedom.

8

These features of Russian literature, of course, are inseparably connected with that chief feature which was revealed in Dostoevsky's "Speech on Pushkin": ". . . the Russian's destiny is incontestably all-European and universal. To become a real Russian, to become entirely Russian, perhaps, only means . . . to become the brother of all people, a universal man, if you please. Oh, all this Slavophilism and this Westernism is a great, although historically inevitable, misunderstanding<sup>12</sup>. . . . Our destiny is universality acquired not by the sword but by the force of brotherhood and our brotherly longing for the reunification of people." Dostoevsky frequently made the reservation that for now this had become embodied deeply and fully only in literature, but at the same time he repeatedly emphasized: "It is impossible to presuppose the funny thought that nature has endowed us only with literary capacities. All the rest is a question of history, circumstances, and the conditions of the time."

In his essence, Dostoevsky, like Chaadayev, <sup>13</sup> was neither a Westerner nor a Slavophile, although frequent attempts were made to reduce him (as a thinker) to Slavophilism. On a new and now conscious basis he strove to restore that comprehensiveness in perceiving the world which was lost during the post-Pushkin epoch. He proceeded in his understanding of Russia not from a closed national but from a universal point of view, like his predecessor Chaadayev who wrote in 1846 that after Peter "for us it was inconceivable to continue step by step our previous history, since we were already in the power of this new world history which was rushing us along to some denouement."

Alongside putting the question this way which has been most deeply embodied in Chaadayev's spiritual legacy and, later, at a new stage, in that of Dostoevsky, both Westernism and Slavophilism appear "limited" and, so to speak, excessively connected with the tendencies toward perceiving the West. Mikhail Prishvin wrote in 1950 that "both the Westerners and the Slavophiles had the same point of departure--Europe." With regard to Westernism this is obvious. As for that tendency which is called Slavophilism, Chaadayev already said about it: "A passionate reaction . . . against the ideas of the West . . . the fruit of which this reaction itself is."

It is necessary, it is true, to stipulate with full resoluteness that the spiritual legacy of all genuinely important writers and thinkers who belong either to Westernism or Slavophilism was always broader and deeper than these tendencies themselves (which could be proven with the most convincing examples). And henceforth the discussion will be precisely about current tendencies, but not about that inexhaustibly rich content of native thought which was developed in the work of Alexandr Herzen or Ivan Kireyevskiy.

Westernism, as a tendency, is based in the final analysis in the conviction that Russian culture (including literature) is, in essence, one of the Western

European cultures, only very seriously behind its sisters; its entire task amounts to catching up in an accelerated development and, ideally, out-distancing the sisters.

From the point of view of Slavophilism (again, as a general tendency) Russian culture is a special Slavic culture which differs fundamentally from the Western cultures, that is, from Romance and Germanic cultures, and its goal consists in developing its original principles which are related to the cultures of the other Slavic tribes. But this idea of the special Slavic essence of Russian culture is constructed, of course, by analogy or even on the model of the Romance and Germanic cultures which have already reached their highest flowering; the task of Russian culture again amounts to catching up to them on its own Slavic path, striving for an equal or, ideally, even a higher flowering.

The cardinal difference of both Westernism and Slavophilism from the idea which is embodied in the spiritual legacy of Chaadayev and Dostoevsky consists in the fact that Russian culture in both of these theories does not contain a directly world mission.

The national cultures of Western Europe in their joint inseparably interconnected creative feat had by the 19th century already accomplished a completely obvious and vast world mission. And Westernism, if it did presume a world importance for Russian culture, did so only as it joined up with this (already accomplished!) feat; for its part, Slavophilism (as a tendency) saw the goal in the creation--next to and alongside the Romance and German cultures--of still another (grant, even profoundly original) cultural world, a Slavic one, with Russian culture at its head.

In a word, in both cases the meaning and goal of Russian culture are recreated as it were in accordance with the West European model and a program proposed by the West. Meanwhile, in Chaadayev's and Dostoevsky's minds Russian culture has a completely independent meaning and goal, and the comprehensive and profound mastery of Western culture appears as the path--of course, the absolutely essential path--for realizing this goal and this meaning (universal humanitarianism).

It must also be mentioned that from the point of view of Westernism and Slavophilism, it turns out, in essence, that whole centuries of the history of Russian culture were as it were unnecessary and senseless: for Westernism--the time from the end of the 15th century (before that, let us assume, the Mongolian Yoke prevented turning to the West) until the end of the 17th century; for Slavophilism--the subsequent time. Meanwhile, Dostoevsky (as Chaadayev before him) gave a completely objective evaluation of the Russian "yearning for Europe."

But this is only one side of the matter. It is to the highest degree remarkable that immediately after his "Speech on Pushkin" (where it is very powerfully and clearly proclaimed: "For the real Russian Europe and the destiny of the whole great Aryan tribe are as precious as Russia itself, as the destiny of our native land, because our destiny is universality. . . .") Dostoevsky turned to the topic

of Asia. In his last notebook of 1880-1881 which he kept just before his death (most of it was published only in 1971) Dostoevsky again and again returns to this topic: "Asia. That Russia is not only in Europe, but also in Asia, and that in Asia perhaps there are more of our hopes than in Europe. . . .

Although Russia is in Europe, but Russia and Asia, that is the most important thing, the most important thing" . . . and so forth.

In the very last issue of "Diary of a Writer" (January 1881) Dostoevsky wrote: "We have to drive off the servile fear that we will be called Asiatic barbarians in Europe and they will say about us that we are Asians even more than we are Europeans. This shame that Europe will regard us as Asians has been haunting us for almost two centuries. . . . This erroneous shame of ours, this erroneous view of ourselves as only Europeans, and not Asians (which we never ceased being)--this shame and this erroneous view has cost us dearly, very dearly, during these two centuries. . . ."

It is absolutely clear from the full context of Dostoevsky's thought that what is being discussed here is not simply relations with Asia, but another--just as essential--side of Russian universal humanity.

In the 15th-17th centuries, Russia was connected much more with Asia than with Europe; beginning with the end of the 17th century, the situation changed fundamentally. And then at the end of the 19th century Dostoevsky, as if summarizing the results of two centuries of most intensive "Europeanism," proclaimed the necessity for establishing a kind of balance and for "opening a window" into Asia, stipulating the reservation that we should not at all turn away from the "window into Europe."

If you look at the development of Russian literature during the half century preceding the year 1880 it will become clear that Dostoevsky's thought was to no degree surprising. It is sufficient to think about the Caucasus which was assimilated by Russian literature with extraordinary breadth and depth and to which Pushkin, Lermontov, and Tolstoy, not to mention a large number of second-rank writers, devoted a very considerable part of their work. Lermontov said just before his death: "Why are we always drawn to Europe? . . . I learned a great deal from the Asians, and I would like to penetrate into the mysteries of the Asian sense of the world. . . . There in the East there is a cache of rich discoveries."

But the point here is not simply in the turning to Asia; the point is in the very character of this turning. From this point of view the episode from "Journey to Arzum" which tells about Pushkin's meeting with the Persian poet Fazil-Khan is truly magnificent: "With the help of a translator, I was about to begin a flowery Eastern greeting; but how ashamed I was when Fazil-Khan responded to my inappropriate fancifulness with the simple intelligent civility of a decent man! . . . With shame I was compelled to leave off my serious-jocular tone. In the future I will not judge a man by his sheepskin hat and his painted fingernails."



Here of exceptional importance are the words "ashamed" and "with shame" which show, reveal, that the consciousness of absolute equality and of fraternity with Asians does not in the slightest have a formal character, but comes from the depth of the personality.

An atmosphere of absolute equality and fraternity is embodied in all of the works of Russian literature which create images of the peoples of Asia--in Lermontov's "Hero of Our Time," in the Caucasian tales of Tolstoy (in "Hadji Murat" he, with his characteristic "extremism," even seems to cross the border of equality, putting in the forefront features of superiority in the mountaineers over the Russians) and in the astonishingly powerful and clearly still underestimated narrative by Leskov "At the Edge of the World" (about Yakutiya).

It is impossible here to even name all of the works of Russian literature of the end of the 19th and of the 20th century which are connected with the topic of Asia. It was in the 1880s, that is, at the same time that Dostoevsky became aware of the full importance and necessity of this topic, that Lev Tolstoy turned to Asia--above all to the spiritual life of India and China. The Asiatic topic found a deep expression in the poetry of Bunin, Blok, Khlebnikov, Klyuyev, and Yesenin, and in the tales of Leskov, Chekhov, the same Bunin, Kuprin, Prishvin, Shishkov, Andrey Platonov and so forth.

In this sphere of Russian literature there is almost the most obvious revelation of its fundamental difference from the humanism of the West European type. In general, this is a huge and many-sided problem. It can be said, for example, that all of Dostoevsky's work is pointed against humanism in the West European sense, since it is based on an "objective" attitude to the other person. Allow that there is even a great compassion for this other--nevertheless, it turns him precisely into an object of compassion, and Dostoevsky's heroes resist this kind of compassion implacably. All this is deeply and fully revealed in the book by M. M. Bakhtin "Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics."

In Western literature there are quite many works in which people from Asia and America are depicted from positions of consistent humanism. But this is precisely the kind of compassion in which the spirit of genuine equality and fraternity is not embodied.<sup>14</sup>

In "Hero of Our Time" Pechorin by no means exhibits a specifically "humane" attitude toward Bela, Kazbich, and Azamat; he, if you wish, enters into a duel with them. But this is a duel of absolutely equal people; both sides have their weaknesses and their superiority.

Prishvin's moving words were cited above about the fact that "when meeting with any people--an Englishman, a Frenchman, a Tatar, a German, a Mordvin, or a Lopar--I always felt their superiority in something." This is an extremely important aspect of the problem; the point is that the equality of peoples is impossible and inconceivable as some kind of identity. The genuine establishment of equality and fraternity requires seeing and acknowledging a definite superiority in the other people.

This by no means signifies any kind of belittling of one's own people. The same Prishvin, expressing dissatisfaction with Gor'kiy's story "On Love," wrote to him: "This could have been written by the French,"--thereby affirming the "literary" superiority of Russian culture. At the same time, in his magnificent "Black Arab" which depicts Kazakhstan, or in his Far Eastern tale "Zhen'-Shen'" Prishvin embodied the spirit of absolute fraternity with the peoples of Asia.

The real superiority of Russians consists, if the discussion has gone this far already, in a capacity for genuine brotherhood with any people which, in its turn, is based on a capacity (essential capacity) of acknowledging from the depth of the soul a definite superiority in the other people, which was so beautifully expressed by Prishvin.

9

But let us turn to the problem of Asia itself; a deep understanding of it is an especially difficult, important, and urgent task. The point is that during two centuries of the most active "Europeanism" native consciousness was subjected to the very strong influence of the Western attitude toward Asia, about which Dostoevsky spoke with such anxiety before his death. This is expressed with the greatest clarity in the ideas which developed in Russia during the 18th-19th centuries about the Tatar-Mongols who were the nucleus of the empire of Batu and his descendants in which Rus' lived in vassal dependence from the 13th-15th centuries. In principle, there is no fundamental difference between this empire and, let us say, the Empire of Charles the Great which subordinated to itself European lands from the Pyrenees to the Danube and peoples--from Arabs to Czechs (one could also take a later example--the Empire of Charles V). However, in the eyes of Europe an empire of "Asians" was something completely different--monstrous and, more than that, "shameful"--precisely because these were "Asians."

Beginning with the 18th century this kind of perception of Asians also to a certain degree infected Russian consciousness. In the past in Rus' this specific attitude toward Asians, particularly, toward Mongols did not at all exist.

It is to the highest degree characteristic that even in the pain-laden "Tale of the Destruction of Ryazan' by Batu" the image of the Mongolian leader is not without features of humanity: "And looking at Eupaty's body, the Tsar Batu said: 'Oh Eupaty Kolovrat! You have done me good honor with your small retinue. . . . If one like that served me--I would hold it right next to my heart.' And he gave Eupaty's body to the people from his retinue who remained. . . . And the tsar Batu ordered that they be released and that no harm come to them."

This has nothing to do, of course, with any kind of justification of the conqueror. The "Tale of the Destruction of Ryazan'" is permeated through and through with the pathos of an implacable struggle against the invaders, just like the other works of Russian literature of the 13th-15th centuries which deal with the Mongolian invasion. But, at the same time, Russian self-consciousness did not limit peoples off into "Europeans" and "Asians"; any conquerors were un-

acceptable, be they German Knights or Mongolian Bagaturs. The attitude toward conquerors was determined in Russian consciousness just by the fact that they were conquerors; however, this did not lead to hostility or at least to alienation with regard to any people and its individual representatives.

This was expressed with remarkable clarity even in the fate of Batu's descendants in Rus'. As is known, Rus' finally freed itself from the power of the Tatar-Mongols in 1480, after the flight of the great Khan of the Golden Horde Akhmat from the Ugrý River. And then, after some half century had passed, the son of the nephew of this same Akhmat, Shakh-Ali (Shigaley), became a very important Russian military leader and commanded the entire army in the Livonian and Lithuanian wars, while Akhmat's grandson--Sain-Bulat (Simeon Bekbulatovich)--was appointed head of the Boyar Duma and received the title of "Great Prince of All Rus'." And these are two highly expressive examples from a mass of similar ones. This kind of destiny for the representatives of non-Russian peoples was in general quite typical: thus, the Kabardin Prince Cherkassky was actual ruler in the time of Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich, the Mordvin Nikita Minov--the Patriarch of all Russia Nikon and the Nogay Yusupov--the head of the Russian Military College at the beginning of the 18th century, and so forth. But the destinies of the descendants of the "cursed" enemies of Rus' reveal with the special force and clarity the nature of Russian universal humanitarianism.

And one cannot but express a deep anxiety in connection with the fact that a "Western" perception of Asia sometimes destroys this true essence of Russian consciousness. It is clear to each of us that the implacable struggle against the Napoleonic invasion did not give rise and could not give rise in our literature to a "negative" attitude toward the French people as such. But frequently a different account has been presented to the peoples of Asia who were members of aggressive armies.

A fresh example of this is one of the plot lines of the many-sided<sup>15</sup> novel by Ch. Aytmatov "And the Day Lasts Longer Than a Century" where the Zhuan'-zhuany who have come from the depth of Asia are depicted truly as non-people who can and should be thoroughly destroyed. Moreover, what is involved is precisely a people, a tribe, and not an army. The fact that the story of the invasion is given in the novel in a parable, mythologicalized form only strengthens the sharpness of the generalization. It has to be noted that this line in the novel sharply contradicts the author's preface in which a good attitude toward all of the peoples of the world is declared.

But let us turn to a much broader and important part: we are talking about the reflection in literature and journalism of one of the greatest events in our native history--the Battle of Kulikovo. It was frequently depicted and continues to be depicted as a manifestation of a kind of fatally inevitable mortal enmity between Rus' and Asia, as a "battle of the continents." Only recently has a broad understanding of the truly universal importance and of the real character of this battle begun.



Thus, in his excellent book "Dmitriy Donskoy" (in the "Lives of Remarkable People" series) Yuriy Loshchits shows that the battle of 8 September 1380 was a battle not of one people against another, but a world historical battle of the, in essence, already multi-national Russian state against an aggressive cosmopolitan armada which did not have the right to act on behalf of any of the neighbor peoples of Rus'. . . .

Facts were cited above which show that in Rus' there was no hostile attitude at all toward Tatar-Mongols as people and as representatives of Asiatic peoples. It must not be forgotten that two (of six) Russian regiments at the Kulikovo battlefield were commanded by the Tatars Andrey Cherkizovich and Semen Melik who had gone over to the service of Dmitriy Donskoy and who fell heroically in battle. . . .

An attempt at understanding the many-sided range of problems which are in one or another way connected with the Battle of Kulikovo has been undertaken in a number of works by L. N. Gumilev. Thus, he shows that at the basis of the Horde's policy on the eve of the battle was "the protection of the slave trade and of merchants from various tribes . . . the principle of naked gain," and that Mamay's actions, in essence, were guided not so much even by the interests of the Golden Horde elite as by the "civilization of merchants and, to put it simply, the dominance of international speculators who had set up trade routes involving the delivery of human cargoes to middle-man Genoa offices." This concerns above all the center of the slave trade which was gigantic for that time--the Genoa colony of Kafa (now Feodosiya) through which in those years tens of thousands of slaves passed. It is quite natural that after his defeat Mamay fled to Kafa where he was--now an unnecessary and beaten card--robbed and destroyed by his inspirers and creditors who recognized no moral norms.<sup>16</sup>

In this way, the Battle of Kulikovo which is quite often regarded solely as the repulsing by Russian forces of a specifically "Asiatic" onslaught, was, in fact, a battle by the Russian people primarily against a world cosmopolitan aggression, for the very expansionist policy of the sword was increasingly determined by the interests and policies of the "international speculators" of Genoa and Kafa (which, as is known, did not fail to send to the Kulikovo battlefield in support of Mamay their splendidly trained infantry--hired, of course).

In short, there are no grounds for regarding the unification of Moscow's forces in the face of a threat as a national mission against Tatars or the Tatar spirit. The Battle of Kulikovo was aimed not against any people, but against the truly "dark forces" of the world of that time.

It has to be said that L. N. Gumilev has in general done quite a bit to throw light upon the complex and highly meaningful relations of Rus' and the nomadic peoples of Asia, including the Tatar-Mongols. But, unfortunately, in his books and articles on this topic there are many controversial and simply unacceptable propositions, like the thesis concerning the "symbiosis" of Rus' and the Horde<sup>17</sup>--although in one way or another the very endeavor of L. N. Gumilev to prove that in the relationships of Rus' with the people of Asia there was no fatal implacability or sense of national alienation is in the highest degree fruitful.



Nevertheless, I cannot but mention that in the picture of relations between Rus' and Asia which is created by L. N. Gumilev there is missing, in my view, an extremely essential element--the concept of the universal humanity of the Russian consciousness and of historical behavior itself which, as I have tried to show, took shape already in the very initial period of the development of Rus'.

Thus, speaking about the many complex meanings of the relations between Rus' and the nomadic peoples of Asia--relations which did not at all reduce themselves to hostility and wars,--L. N. Gumilev bases himself above all on the existence of mutual and reciprocal interests. Yet, there is no doubt that the will to universal humanitarianism which appears at the very dawn of Russian history was of great importance in the relations between Rus' and the peoples of Asia. Here is one fact, but a very characteristic one. In his "Instruction" Vladimir Monomakh proudly tells of his terrible victories over the Polovtsy but no less proudly he reports: "I concluded 20 less 1 peace treaties with the Polovtsy princes, with my father and without my father, and distributed much livestock and much of my clothing. And I released the best Polovtsy princes (there follows an enumeration of names--V. K.), and in all 100 others of the best princes." If not this, to use the language of today, Russian principled position in the world, relations with the nomadic peoples of Asia could have had a completely different historical result.<sup>18</sup>

In his last article before his death in 1881 Dostoevsky wrote that during the preceding "two centuries . . . we must have failed to do something for Europe to recognize us as its own, as Europeans, as nothing but Europeans, and not as Tatars. . . .

It is difficult to turn away from the window into Europe, this is fate. . . . We cannot leave Europe. . . . Europe is also a mother for us, as is Russia, our second mother; we have taken much from her and we will take again, and we do not want to be ungrateful to her. . . .

And yet Asia--yes, that really could be our way out into our future--again I exclaim! . . . A principle, a new principle, a new view of things--that is what is necessary!"

Subsequent study and understanding of the history of Rus' has shown that the issue is not in a "new" principle and view, but in the regeneration and resurrection of a Russian principle and view of many centuries' duration. In the 18th-19th centuries the West almost infected our consciousness with "alienation" from Asia, but great Russian literature has always preserved and developed its universal humanitarianism equally with respect to Europe and with respect to Asia, which has been so beautifully embodied in the work of Pushkin, Lermontov, Tolstoy, and Leskov and which was expressed with such clear and profound consciousness in his last testament by Dostoevsky.

Four decades after the appearance of this article, the topic of Asia rises to its full height in the last works of a man who was very far from the general meaning and pathos of Dostoevsky's creative work. But this makes the enormous

interest in Asia which was expressed both here and there all the more rich in meaning. We are talking about the last works of V. I. Lenin--including the very last ones which have the character of a testament: letters to the CC of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the articles "On Our Revolution" and "Better Less, But Better" (1923). But in an earlier writing, V. I. Lenin said about Asia: "We know that here they will rise, as independent participants and as creators of the new life, the popular masses of the East because hundreds of millions of this population belong to the dependent nations without full rights which to this day have been the object of the international policy of imperialism and which for capitalist culture and civilization existed only as fertilizer materials. . . . The period is coming of the participation by all of the peoples of the East in deciding the destiny of the entire world so as not to be clearly an object for enrichment. The peoples of the East are awakening to perform practical actions and for every people to decide the question of the fate of all of humanity."<sup>19</sup>

" . . . The relationship of the peoples of the East to imperialism is most important now," V. I. Lenin said then. As for Russia, "by virtue of a number of circumstances--incidentally, also in connection with the fact," Lenin said, "that it serves as a border between Europe and Asia and between the West and the East, we need to take upon ourselves the full weight--in which we see a great honor--of being the instigators of the world struggle against imperialism."<sup>20</sup> Russia "has to group around itself all of the awakening countries of the East in order, together with them, to wage a struggle against international imperialism."<sup>21</sup>

"This is a task of extraordinary scope which," V. I. Lenin summarizes, "will be successfully accomplished and brought to full victory over international imperialism."<sup>22</sup>

The fact that the East has for long been in the eyes of the West only an "object," only "material for fertilizer" lies at the basis of the perception of the world which was expressed by Kipling's famous verse:

West is West, and East is East,  
And never the twain shall meet. . .

And Russia is the "border between Europe and Asia and the West and the East," not only, of course, because of its geographical position. Russian literature in all of its genuine manifestations embodied a powerful and profound pathos of equality and fraternity with the peoples of both the West and the East, thereby creating a kind of spiritual bridge between Europe and Asia. In the mighty universal element of Russian literature, both the West and the East are gifted with the ability to as it were "meet" and stretch out a brotherly hand to one another.

The element of Russian literature is in its basis the element of an emotional dialogue in which exceedingly distant voices can participate with equal rights. The concept of "dialogue" naturally directs us to the works of M. M. Bakhtin. But I would like to emphasize that, in my view, the most important thing is not Bakhtin's discovery of the "dialogic spirit" of Dostoevsky's or of other artists'

work, but the fact that in and of itself the aesthetic created by M. M. Bakhtin in its whole is in essence an aesthetic of dialogue; in this sense it, in particular, opposes the aesthetic of Hegel which is based on a "monologic dialectic" (in Bakhtin's definition) and which was the foundation for all West European aesthetics. And it is precisely Russian thought which could and should have created an aesthetic of dialogue which embodies the profoundest nature of Russian literature.<sup>23</sup>

Perhaps it is in the creation of a universal human dialogue that the great mission of Russian literature is expressed first of all--a mission which in the final analysis is reflected in the spiritual fate of any country--from France to Japan. . . . In conclusion, it is necessary to pose one very difficult and sharp problem. In the epigraph to this article are the words of Petr Chaadayev: "Providence created us too great to be egotists." Further, Chaadayev says that Russia has not been called upon to "conduct a national policy . . . Its business in the world is the policy of the human race."

And it is impossible not to see that Russian existence and consciousness is not at all characterized by an active, firm, and consistent truly national self-affirmation which characterizes the life and culture of, for example, England and France<sup>24</sup> or, in other forms, let us say, Japan or Turkey. However, this in no way means that Russian literature is outside of the (or is not) national. Its very universal humanitarianism is precisely its national original folk nature. We have already quoted the absolutely precise words of Dostoevsky that in the "universal responsiveness" of Pushkin's genius "was expressed at its highest and first of all the national Russian strength, was expressed precisely the national spirit of his poetry."

Tolstoy, speaking about the universal human content embodied in the images created by Dostoevsky, and about the fact that "in these exceptional people not only we who are related to them, but also foreigners recognize themselves, their souls," explained it this way: "The people you take things from, the more common they are, familiar, and close to everybody."

This is to the highest degree an important moment: universal humanitarianism lives--one could even say is concealed--in the very depth of the Russian national character. And in order to preserve its authenticity and fertility and in order not to finally degenerate into cosmopolitanism, the universal humanitarianism of Russian literature cannot but again and again immerse itself into its deepest national basis. It is this way that the universal humanitarianism of Dostoevsky and Tolstoy which captivated the world developed.

If, however, a writer proceeds not from the depth of national existence and consciousness, but only from a confused "yearning for Europe," he turns out to be incapable of embodying genuine universal humanitarianism and in the end falls under the power of cosmopolitan omnivorousness and a superficial international culture, or, more correctly, a neither fish nor fowl "semi-culture" (including in his perception of Russia).

And in today's contemporary literature genuine universal humanitarianism is embodied only in the kind of work which takes its source in the depths of national existence and consciousness and constantly returns to this source.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. We are speaking, of course, about the "calling of the Varyagi." It is impossible here to discuss the complex question of this chronicle legend. But I must note that only from the point of view of a purely formal and, so to speak, unthinking patriotism this legend appears as something which "demeans" Russia. In addition, it is even forgotten that approximately at the same time the Normans conquered England and began to rule it, gradually fusing with the enslaved people. And if one proceeds from considerations of patriotic pride, the English have to simply burn with shame: for it is one thing to voluntarily "summon" for the sake of some goals, and quite another to be under the power of a victor. . . .
2. The question of the historical relationships between the Russian and other peoples of Russia is characterized profoundly and vividly in the book: F. Nesterov, "The Link of Times," "Molodaya Gvardiya" Publishing House, Moscow, 1980 (see the chapter "Multi-National Russia").
3. We will frequently have occasion to speak about literary phenomena which in one way or another are based on Christian concepts and images. In this connection, it should be recalled that, according to the accurate definition of F. Engels given in his work "The Peasant War in Germany," right up to the era of capitalism there occurred with necessity "the supreme dominion of theology in all of the fields of intellectual activity." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," Moscow-Leningrad, 1931, vol 8, p 128).
4. Subsequently a more concrete demarcation of "freedom" and "will" was made in Russian literature (for example, Tolstoy) in accordance with which freedom is a realm which has been restricted by definite limits in advance (that is, in essence, the realm of law), while will does not suggest any kind of external limitations (there will be no discussion of this).
5. In fact, the play was staged somewhat earlier than the appearance of Chaadayev's article.
6. Hegel has in mind the entire West whose basis was formed in the beginning by Germanic peoples; below he uses the definition "Western" as a synonym for "German."
7. It should be emphasized that what is under discussion here is by no means the "Judeo-Christianity" in the purely present-day use of the word (which has, in essence, a political meaning: the term "Judeo-Christianity" is even used by the Presidents of the United States); what is being discussed is simply the fact that since ancient times Western European Christianity has been imbued



with Old Testament tendencies (which showed itself with especial clarity in Protestantism), while in Rus' even the very Old Testament texts were, in essence, little known.

8. This involuntarily connects up with Hegel's words that the "spirit" of the West is "absolute self-willed subjectivity" for which the "attitude toward the external world" is not of essential importance.
9. When during the reign of Ivan III the question of burning several leaders of the "Judaizing heresy" was being decided, it was surrounded, as the historian Ye. Ye. Golubinskiy has shown, by a long and sharp polemic; moreover "the aged ruler who wished to cleanse the church of heretics but was also afraid of falling into the sin of cruelty wavered among the opinions of the sides." Finally, the victorious opinion was that of the Novgorod Archbishop Gennadiy who "was acquainted with the methods of fighting heretics of Catholic civilization. . . ."
10. This position can be in its essence an aesthetic one--as in the work of Flaubert, or, in an essentially different form, William Morris--or above all an ethical position--as with Dickens and, in a different manner, with Hugo, but in all cases this position acts as a supreme incontestable judge, as the "last instance."
11. There has been discussion above more than once of Christianity in whose channel Russian and Western culture developed for many centuries. An extremely characteristic difference between the Western and Russian traditions is the fact that in Europe the absolutely most important and all-defining Christian holiday is Christmas, while in Rus' it is the resurrection (Easter).
12. There is an important explanation in Dostoevsky's notes: "The great misunderstanding which is historically necessary in the awakening Russian consciousness but which, of course, will disappear when Russian people look things straight in the eye."
13. We have already discussed the groundlessness of putting Chaadayev with the Westerners. It is worth citing one of his characteristic statements whose meaning can be disputed, but there can be no argument with the fact that a Westerner could not say anything similar: ". . . the time will come when the kind of return to paganism which occurred in the 15th century and which is very incorrectly called the rebirth of the sciences will stir in new peoples only the kind of memory which is preserved by a person who has returned to a path of good about some kind of mad and criminal enthusiasm of his youth."
14. It is to the highest degree characteristic, for example, that in American literature, as a rule, only those Indians who peacefully cooperate with the whites from Europe are depicted sympathetically; meanwhile, in the Russian literature on the Caucasus it is the "war-like" mountaineers who are depicted most sympathetically!

15. The national characters of the Cossacks which have been created by Chingiz Aytmatov are profoundly important.
16. For greater clarity, at least a few facts should be enumerated. Kafa was bought from the Horde by the Genoese in 1266, but until the middle of the 13th century the soldiers of the Horde seized and plundered it almost every decade. But Mamay, after he became the Crimean military chief in the 1350s, established the closest relations with Kafa. During the time of his dominion, that is, until 1380, there was not a single Tatar attack on Kafa (although Mamay frequently devastated the colonies of its competitors--the Venetians). During that time, Kafa annexed most of the Crimean coast (from Balaklava to Sudak) and turned into one of the largest cities in Europe (70,000 people). With the money he obtained from Kafa, Mamay hired an enormous army (it contained mercenaries from the Caucasus, Volga, and even Trans-Caucasus) and seized power over all of the Horde's possessions west of the Volga. In Moscow Kafa's role for Mamay was known: Dmitriy Ivanovich, according to the detailed account in the Nikon Chronicle, deliberately took along on his campaign against the Don ten merchants (that is, Russians who traded in the Crimea) to whom the "secrets" of Kafa were well known.
17. See the novel-essay of Vladimir Chivilikhin, "Memory," NASH SOVREMENNİK No 12, 1980.
18. Another important defect in the conception of L. N. Gumilev consists, in my view, in the fact that he (proceeding again from the concept of mutual interests) limits the possibility of a true union of Rus' and Asia, in essence, only to the circle of Turko-Mongolian people. But this is a special and enormous problem.
19. V. I. Lenin, "Collected Works," Vol 39, pp 327, 328.
20. Ibid., vol 39, p 318.
21. Ibid., vol 39, p 329.
22. Ibid., vol 39, p 331.
23. Western literature, in contrast to Russian literature, is as it were a monologue which does not imply the existence in the "external" world of another equal subject from which the necessary reply, recognition, and judgment are being awaited. And this cannot be regarded as a totally negative quality. Before us, if you wish, is a genuinely heroic monologue.
24. I will recall once again the words of Belinskiy: "The French, the English, and the Germans are so national each in their own way that they are not capable of understanding each other, while the Russian has long ago understood the social nature of the Frenchman, the practical activities of the Englishman and the heavy-clouded philosophy of the German."

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## REGIONAL

### JOURNALISTS' CONGRESS EMPHASIZES CADRES, NATIONALISM

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 27 Dec 81 pp 1, 3

[Article: "Guided by the Traditions of Party Journalism: From the 6th Congress of the Estonian SSR Union of Journalists"]

[Text] For almost a year now the workers in the press, television, radio, and publishing have been working in the spirit of the decisions of the 26th party congress. They are the first to bring to readers, viewers, and audiences the course of implementing these decisions in the area of economic, cultural, and political construction.

With all its influence and authority the Soviet press propagandizes the policy of peace, assists the party and the government in implementing this policy, and wages an unceasing, systematic struggle against the forces of war and aggression, for peace and disarmament. At the 26th CPSU Congress and the 18th CP of Estonia Congress well-deserved attention was paid to the activities of the mass information media. This was mentioned in the report by the chairman of the board of the Estonian SSR Union of Journalists and editor of the newspaper RAKHVA KHYAEL', Kh. Toming.

The profound analysis of our work and the criticism of its shortcomings, he said, are permeated with great respect for the work of journalists, into his hands the party has entrusted a sharp weapon.

Journalists are confronted with two inter-related tasks. First, to comprehensively, convincingly, and substantially show the achievements of our country in all the spheres of social life, to profoundly and skillfully analyze and sum up the processes occurring in our lives.

Second, to criticize the shortcomings and mistakes, as well as to show the ways to eliminate them. The solution of both these problems requires careful work and skill. And this means that a journalist's appeal to his reader, listener, or viewer must be a topical, serious, and frank conversation with a human being. But we still rarely present the serious economic, social, political, and social problems which interest people. We need not fear sharp questions; we must provide principled, exhaustive answers to them, answers which proceed from Marxist-Leninist theory and our party's policy.

In order to impart to every journal, to every newspaper, and every radio and television program its own unique character, in order to fully gain the interest of readers and improve the effectiveness of the journalistic word, not only is it

necessary to have problematical-topical material but also a thoroughly thought-out and consistent implementation of genre policy. Among our journalists, for example, a genre such as the topical satire remains in a state of lethargy, and the Union of Journalists must think of how to stimulate further development of the topical satire, as well as that of other genres.

We ought to re-structure our work so as to make topical the contents of newspapers, journals, radio and television programs, to bring their forms into line with present-day requirements and the needs of the Soviet people. We must actively continue working in the light of the demands of the decree of the CPSU CC, entitled "On Further Improving Ideological, Political-Educational Work," which is a document of long-term effect, emphasized the rapporteur.

In the field of the economy our top-priority task is to implement the party's demand that the economy should be economical. It is necessary to wage a consistent struggle so that every Soviet person profoundly recognizes the direct dependence of the growth of the people's prosperity on increasing the country's economic potential, which, in turn, depends on the economical handling of accounts, careful use of existing energy and material resources, as well as on our active, persistent and effective work.

An important role in the matter of implementing the tasks assigned by the party is to be played by the dissemination of advanced experience. We have some rather good examples of this. Advanced operating experience has been consistently elucidated in the newspapers RAKHVA KHYAEL', SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, and in other periodical publications. For a long time now RAKHVA KHYAEL' has continued to focus attention on the question of disseminating within labor groups of the republic the question of the Rostovians' initiative under the slogan "Work Without Letting Anyone Fall Behind."

Here we may also mention other such columns as "Communists on the Leading Edge of the 11th Five-Year Plan," "Development, Plans, and Problems of the 11th Five-Year Plan," in which the republic's leading workers speak out.

The editors of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA have found, in conjunction with a public council of scientists, good possibilities for disseminating advanced experience in the form of a column entitled "From An Idea to Its Introduction."

With this same goal in mind, Estonian television is continuing the practice of analysis in depth. If, for example, during the period after the 25th Congress 41 broadcasts kept track of the work of the Viysnurk Combine, this year the activities of three farms were kept under observation. One of them, moreover, belongs among the advanced category, a second on an average level, while the third is a backward farm. And without any more detailed explanations it is clear that the elimination of backwardness encompasses enormous reserves, and the press, radio and television can utter their own weighty words on this matter.

An essential role is played by the press in the matter of elucidating socialist competition. The joint decree of the CPSU CC, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol CC, entitled "On the All-Union Socialist Competition for the Successful Fulfillment and Over-Fulfillment of the Tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan" requires that journalists widely disseminate valuable initiatives.



The 26th party congress outlined specific tasks for developing the country's social, political, and spiritual life. Every editorial office has worked out prospective plans which define the role of the press, television and radio in explaining and solving these problems. Herein the central place has been relegated to elucidating the socialist way of life and Soviet democracy.

Inculcating workers in the spirit of friendship among the peoples, socialist internationalism, and Soviet patriotism must also in the future occupy a central place in our work. In connection with the approaching 60th Anniversary of the formation of the USSR and the 65th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, many editors have begun to prepare new series of publicistic essays and broadcasts reflecting the close cooperation between our republic and the other fraternal republics as well as the bonds of friendship which unite them. Serving this purpose are the following: a series of Estonian Radio programs entitled "From the West to the East," a series of Estonian Television documentaries entitled "Between the Two Seas," and the RAKHVA KHYAEL' newspaper column entitled "Bonds of Friendship."

An important role is played by the press, television, and radio in the moral formation of the personality. Along with the growth of the people's material well-being, we must never forget even for a minute about the problems of their spiritual development, inasmuch as the growth of material well-being and spiritual development ought to occur by means of an integrated process. At the same time journalists should wage an implacable struggle against the phenomena which are alien to communist morality--against drunkenness, hooliganism, money-grubbing, and manifestations of the bourgeois way of life, to uncover the causes of such phenomena and to facilitate their elimination.

The formation of a young person's world view and outlook on life depends on all of us; it depends on how we write about the topic of work, daily life, standards of behavior, how we examine the problems of Soviet patriotism and friendship among the peoples, how we study the problems of psychology, ethics, and aesthetics, and how consistently we wage the struggle against deviations from the norms of communist morality.

In this connection, we should take note of the series of articles in the newspaper MOLODEZH ESTONII entitled "The Student as a Contemporary of the Five-Year Plan," which sheds light on the study and entrance into life of the students from the Tallinn Polytechnical Institute, materials of the newspaper RAKHVA KHYAEL' under the heading, "The Family and the Home," as well as the organizing role of Estonian television in the matter of preparing and putting on a series of television broadcasts entitled "Home Town."

Life affirms the very important conclusion, made at the 26th congress, that during the period of developed socialism the party's role in public life constantly increases, the rapporteur noted. Our press has begun to elucidate party life more profoundly and substantially. This pertains primarily to the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA and to the journal KOMMUNIST ESTONII. Maintained constantly in the field of vision are such questions as implementing the critical remarks and proposals made by Communists at party meetings. Particular successes, unfortunately, are not observed in rayon and urban newspapers.

A second cluster of problems is connected with the primary party organizations and party groups which operate directly within the labor groups. We as journalists should not lose sight of the style and operational methods of the party leadership in the various spheres of public life.

In solving the social problems which confront our society an increasing role is being played by the soviet organs and trade-union organizations. Editors must retain within their field of vision the activities of the local soviets with regard to developing the network of trade, service, and the production of consumer goods, ensuring a monitoring over the fulfillment of the plan assignments, the demands of constituents, the observance of the laws, as well as in the sphere of reinforcing law and order, state and labor discipline.

Our press has good experience in working with letters from working people, and this was noted at the 18th Congress of the CP of Estonia. Great popularity was gained by the Open Letter Day of the newspapers RAKHVA KHYAEL' and SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, and, what is especially noteworthy, this facilitates, to a great extent, the strengthening of ties with the editors of the rayon newspapers.

Estonian television and radio receive more than 100,000 letters a year on the average. They assist journalists in being constantly up to date on the most topical events and most vital problems arising among the working people.

The Soviet press, continued the rapporteur, has an army of many thousands of journalists. Most of them are united within the ranks of a creative public organization--the USSR Union of Journalists, which has more than 74,000 members.

Within the ranks of the Estonian SSR Union of Journalists there are now 1,054 members, of whom 821 are employed in the editorial offices of newspapers, journals, publishing houses, television, radio and the ETA [Estonian Telegraph Agency].

The Estonian SSR Union of Journalists has carried out diverse methods to improve the professional skills and qualifications of its members and to improve their quality of information with regard to topical problems. Thus, 84 of our republic's journalists took part during the reporting period in 32 All-Union and regional seminars.

There are considerably more possibilities for taking part in studies and seminars held in the republic. But the role of the Union of Journalists in directing its own members into studies and VUZ's, evening universities and courses is still too insufficient at this time.

One of the means for a journalist's self-improvement is to participate in the work of the creative sections. During the course of preparing for the present congress all the primary organizations discussed their work and made suggestions for improving the work of the entire Union. It is necessary that the newly elected secretariat of the Union of Journalists define its relationship to it. The Union's creative sections have conducted press conferences, meetings and excursions; they have organized the transmission to journalists of the necessary skills and practical experience. But, unfortunately, not all 17 sections of the Union have operated with equal success. If the work of the sections of industrial, agricultural, and children's journalists, as well as those of language and translation,

artists and satirists must be praised, since Comrades Viyrsaar, Mets, Renzer, Meriste and Spriyt, as chairmen of these sections have a serious attitude toward their obligations, but, unfortunately, the sections of young journalists and culture are operating poorly.

The Estonian SSR Union of Journalists has consistently utilized material means in order to facilitate the expansion of its members' horizons, in order to create better conditions for rest, and to step up sports activities. The number and distance of creative excursions are increasing from year to year. This year, for example, 32 members of our Union went on creative trips in 11 directions over routes from Armenia to Karelia, from Palanga to the Buryatskaya ASSR.

In conclusion, the rapporteur asserted that the employees of the press, television, radio, and publishing houses are fully aware of their obligations and responsibilities for solving the problems assigned by the 26th CPSU Congress and the 18th Congress of the CP of Estonia. Among journalists there is no desire more worthy of the epoch than to serve their own party and people.

During the course of the discussions the delegates profoundly and in detail analyzed the work of the republic's press in the light of fulfilling the demands set by the party for journalists. The most important and main thing, they emphasized, is to still more effectively and qualitatively assist the party in solving the problems of building communism.

One of the components of success in a journalist's work is his profoundly well-informed quality, his ability not only to discover a problem but also to seek out ways to solve it. This was stated by the assistant editor of the newspaper RAKHVA KHIJAEI', who opened the discussion, A. Ryatsep. Journalists are assisted in looking into problems of our reality which are in and by themselves vitally important by the press conferences being conducted by the republic's leading party, soviet, and management people. This year something new was added to this traditional form -- a question-and-answer period, conducted by the management departments of the CP of Estonia CC with the staff members of the appropriate departments of the editorial offices of the newspapers, television and radio. Our times require journalists who have thoroughgoing, special skills in specific areas of the national economy, culture or art. More serious attention must be paid to this by the VUZ's who train personnel for the mass information media and propaganda.

During recent years there has been a change in the profile of our press, television and radio, noted the assistant editor of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, K. Malyshev. Particularly large shifts occurred after the decree of the CPSU CC, "On Further Improving Ideological and Political-Educational Work." Articles became more business-like and more critical. Thus, during the present year alone new columns began to appear in SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA entitled "Party Life: To Conserve Means To Multiply," "The Economy Should Be Economical," and the "Quest" Page. They have become a successful supplement to the columns which we had previously. Particular attention is being accorded by the editorial group to the effectiveness of the printed word. Thus, 20 official responses were received in answer to the critical statements which were published in eight installments of "Quest." This newspaper has become one of the initiators of "Open-Letter Day" being held in the republic. This innovation was approved by the CP of Estonia CC, the newspaper PRAVDA and the journal PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN'.



In the name of the guests of the delegates to the 6th Congress of Journalists of Estonia, greetings were extended by the secretary of the board of the USSR Union of Journalists, the chairman of the board of the Latvian SSR Union of Journalists, the editor of the newspaper TSINYA, Ya. Britan'. He noted that the journalists of Soviet Estonia have participated successfully in the All-Union creative competitions, and they have established good contacts with their colleagues from other republics.

It would be difficult now in our republic to find a family which does not have a television set and a radio--stated the deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, E. Anupyl'd. Television and radio have become a firm part of daily life, and they demand from journalists a high quality of work. Therefore, one of the most important tasks is to increase their professional skills. The leadership of the State Committee, along with party and public organizations, are paying particular attention to the creative youth. Thanks to this, many beginning journalists quickly find their own niches in the creative group. The speaker proposed that the Estonian SSR Union of Journalists concern itself more with the problems of professional guidance, which would help in recruiting capable, talented employees as personnel for the mass information media.

We must make more films of the important cultural events in the life of the republic, while the press should participate more extensively in the discussion of television broadcasts.

The work of the Tartu Division of the Estonian SSR Union of Journalists was talked about by its chairman--the editor of the newspaper EDAZI, I. Rattus. Held on a regular basis here are press conferences, round-table discussions and meetings in labor groups. The leading workers of this city and rayon, as well as figures in science and art, often speak before journalists.

A special emphasis was laid on strengthening international contacts. Within the framework of preparing for the 60th Anniversary of the formation of the USSR, writers and colleagues from our fraternal republics spoke at "literary hours" conducted by the editors. EDAZI's editors maintain constant contact with veterans of the Great Patriotic War, participants in the battles to liberate Tartu.

A great deal of attention is being paid to raising the professional level of local journalists. Classes on the theory of journalism are held regularly, along with meetings with instructors and students of the TGU [Tartu State University] Department of Journalism and creative contests.

Estonian Radio correspondent E. Khion dwelt on the methods, style and quality of work. A journalist and his audience are united by common goals and aspirations. A journalist's activity also engenders an active response in his audience. The speaker also expressed an opinion about the feasibility of strengthening the ties between the Union of Journalists and other creative organizations of our republic, since they are all working to solve the same principal task, connected with the communist education of our people.

It is difficult to over-estimate the press's role in mobilizing the working people to successfully solve the problems set forth by the 26th CPSU Congress--stated the first secretary of the Vil'yandi party rayon, R. El'vak. The quest for reserves to increase the effectiveness of production, propagandizing advanced experience,



and elucidating the course of socialist competition--these are the most important topics for journalism today.

It would be desirable if, in propagandizing advanced experience, journalists would not stint themselves on words, would not limit themselves, as sometimes occurs, to communicating merely the fact of innovation itself. It is important to write more fully about what is new and advanced, and this will make it possible to disseminate valuable experience more rapidly. We need to say more about beacons. At present the VIL'YANDI RAYON newspaper is publishing a translation of the book by the Hero of Socialist Labor, the combine operator E. Otsman, which was awarded a literary prize at an All-Union contest. Readers have manifested a great deal of interest in this work. In the future we must strengthen cooperation between journalists and advanced workers, and this could provide many such useful books.

The problem of the creative growth of young journalists ought always to remain within the field of vision of the Union's activity, noted the editor of the newspaper SYADE Yu. Renzer. Beginning journalists can avoid many failures by relying on the aid of their older comrades. A young journalist needs to learn lofty principles, to make demands on himself and his own creative work, and to keep an active party point of view as the most trustworthy criterion of life. Only thus can he avoid publishing insubstantial materials, stereotypes.

It is important that every young journalist contribute something of his own to our press. Here too is a task for the Union--to discover talent and help to develop it.

The years which have passed since the time of the previous congress of the Estonian SSR Union of Journalists have also been noteworthy for the employees of publishing houses, printing plants and the book trade, stated the deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Goskomizdat V. Lindsalu. During the past five-year plan book publishing output increased by 17 million copies. At present on a per capita basis in our republic 12 books and pamphlets are published annually. Here we would like to express the desire to see reviews and literary criticism of new books appearing more frequently in the pages of our periodical press. This would help to better guide the reader in the ever-increasing flood of books.

Important changes have also taken place in the printing industry. Most newspapers are now printed by the off-set method, which has significantly improved the quality of the press. Now almost all the rayon newspapers have been converted to off-set. During the present five-year plan construction will begin on a new printing plant for producing books in Tallinn. Its first stage alone will exceed the capacity of all such printing plants now existing in this republic.

The head of the Department of Journalism at the TGU [Tartu State University], Professor Yu. Peegel', as well as a number of other speakers, dwelt on the problems of training personnel for the press. It has already been five years now that the instruction of journalists at the university has been conducted in accordance with an All-Union program. Within the department a modest-sized television studio, photo lab and a sound-recording studio have been created. Students serve a probationary [apprenticeship] period in editorial offices, depending on their lines of future work. There is, however, an increasingly urgent problem of attracting to work in the press specialists on the national economy who already have a higher

education and experience in practical work. The University is preparing to assemble a group of such specialists in order to provide them with a journalistic education as well. It is also high time that we published an up-to-date textbook on journalism, which would become not only a textbook for students but also an important help in improving the skills of journalists.

The chief editor of the journal SOTSIALISTLIK PYLLUMAYANDUS E. Mets, noted that the propaganda of advanced experience at times has a kind of chancy nature in the press because of the poor information on the part of the journalists. It is high time that we created an integrated service for preliminary information. Journalists' House, the creation of which has been spoken about for a long time now, should become a center of exchanging experience and for strengthening contacts between colleagues.

Critical presentations by newspapers, television and radio comprise one of the most effective forms of solving the problems of the socio-economic development of society. However, such presentations are effective only when the criticism is followed by a response with regard to measures adopted, stated the correspondent of the newspaper PRAVDA for the Estonian SSR D. Klenskiy. But such responses have not yet become mandatory for all those who are criticized. Journalists ought to be more persistent in this important matter, to achieve the adoption of measures regarding their critical presentations and to inform their readers about this.

In order to increase the press's effectiveness in solving the great problems which confront our people, it is necessary to enhance the authority of the press organ and the prestige of the journalistic profession. The journalist must not avoid the sharp corners but pose the problem in a party manner and write convincingly with a knowledge of the matter.

The secretary of the board of the USSR Union of Journalists, V. Arkhangel'skiy, noted that the Estonian SSR Union of Journalists has shown itself to be an active conduit to the masses of our party's policy, a militant detachment in the All-Union journalistic organization. On more than one occasion Estonia's journalists have acted as the initiators of interesting creative beginnings. At a recent session of the Secretariat of the USSR Union of Journalists a favorable appraisal was received by the operational leadership of the creative sections within the Estonian SSR Union of Journalists.

Secretary of the CP of Estonia CC, R. Ristlaan, delivered a speech at the congress.

By implementing V. I. Lenin's directives on the role of the press in society as a collective propagandist, agitator and organizer, the Soviet press, in elucidating all aspects of our lives, has been at all the stages in the development of the Soviet state one of the most important means in the struggle for our party, and its importance in disseminating the ideas of communism as well as their realization can hardly be over-estimated. It is precisely for this reason that the party has always accorded top-priority attention to guiding the press and organizing its work, constantly caring for the growth of the press's influence on the broad masses, and striving in a purposeful way to see to it that through the press the party message gets through to every Soviet person.

Comrade Ristlaan noted that with each passing year the material base of the press becomes stronger, and the ranks of the journalists are growing. But all these are quantitative indicators. The political effectiveness of journalistic activity is determined primarily by its quality, contents and the convincingness of the information being published. Only the truth, enveloped in the toga of the impassioned party word and grounded on the deep convictions of its author, can penetrate into the souls of people, set them afire and win them over to one's own side. At the center of attention, therefore, must always be the questions of the contents of journalistic materials and the degree of influence of those forms in which they have been invested. It is precisely this which is the main thing that the creative Union of Journalists is called upon to concern itself with.

In the report and in the speeches at the congress, Comrade Ristlaan emphasized, a great deal was said about the training, education and distribution of journalistic personnel. This indeed is one of the central problems on the successful solution of which the final result depends.

The self-critical appraisal which the congress accorded to the work accomplished, stated Comrade Ristlaan, is entirely correctly linked with the profound analysis of those new tasks which the dynamically developing modern times have posed for our journalists. It is perfectly justifiable that the higher is the level of development of socialist society, the more multi-faceted are the problems which the Soviet people must solve. And, consequently, the work of the mass information media and propaganda is constantly becoming more and more complex, while there is an increase in the party and public demands on its quality. The congress clearly affirmed the striving by the journalists of Soviet Estonia to dedicate all their activities to carrying out the tasks outlined by the party and to implement the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

But striving alone is not enough to ensure the high degree of journalism's political effectiveness. In order to achieve this, we need still more profound ideological and political knowledge as well as a high degree of professional skill, the ability to set forth the most complex thoughts and ideas in a language which is accessible to the broadest masses, and to invest them in forms rendering the maximum emotional impact. And this requires from journalists constant and systematic work to improve themselves, along with a thoroughgoing study of Marxist-Leninist theory and the practice of communist creation. Every journalist must treat the phenomena of life around him from the viewpoint of communist principles; all his creativity should proceed from precisely defined political principles. Even the most insignificant mistakes of our journalism are intolerable. Wherever the level of socialist idealism is lowered by even one iota, our ideological adversary immediately moves to the attack.

Political classes have been conducted regularly in journalistic groups, and a department of journalism has operated for several years now at the university of Marxism-Leninism. This is undoubtedly fine and useful; nevertheless, we cannot always be satisfied with the contents of the political classes in the editorial offices.

Everything stated above also fully pertains to improving the professional skills of journalists. During recent years in the republic successful use has been made of such effective forms of professional learning as press conferences, courses to increase skills, seminars for young journalists, seminars for editors and



secretaries of party organizations, as well as question-and-answer periods. Meetings between journalists and readers, open-letter days, and much else have been put into practice extensively. This has served as the basis for the emergence of new columns and whole cycles of broadcasts, created along the lines of letters from readers. Such work must be continued in the future also. One gets the impression, however, that not everywhere is sufficiently serious attention being paid to improving journalistic skills. Our journalists are also poorly acquainted with the working experience of their colleagues in the other Union republics. Unfortunately, contacts between the editorial offices even of competing cities and rayons are often limited to an exchange of the competition results once every quarter by telephone.

Only steadfast and persistent work to improve oneself, Comrade Ristlaan emphasized, ensures creative success for a journalist, creates the soil for the appearance of a profoundly ideological and vividly individual journalistic personality. And our republic has always been rich in them. The foundations of journalism in Soviet Estonia were laid by such masters of the publicistic word as A. Vaarandi, Y. Saat, R. Sirge, Yu. Smuul, R. Parve, D. Vaarandi, Yu. Peegel', P. Kuusberg, D. Rudnev, as well as A. Saar, V. Raudsepp, K. Sipyagina, Yu. Tillo, A. Pyakhklimyagi, A. Slutsk and V. Pant. Their best traditions are being continued by the younger generation, such journalists as K. Khelenyae, L. Lauri, O. Anton, E. Khion, M. Tal'vik, K. Raudnask, Kh. Rauniste and many others.

At the previous, 5th Union Congress there was serious talk about creating the image of laboring man in our journalism. Today we are again compelled to state that the working man on the pages of our publications is frequently dry and boring, bloodless and passionless. He is still constructed by a standardized diagram. Does not this reveal a certain stagnation in journalistic thought?

The picture would probably be different if the pages of newspapers and journals, as well as radio and television programs presented more frequently the words of workers and kolkhoz members, the skilled masters of their own trades; they would be able to share their own plans and concerns, to talk about their own work and that of their comrades and partners in competition. To aid them in preparing for such presentations is one of the most important tasks for journalists. Relationship with an author and work with him should, to a considerable degree, determine the appraisal of a journalist's activity.

Speaking about criticism and self-criticism in the press, on television and radio, R. Ristlaan emphasized that they must be conducted sharply, with Leninist principles. This is one of the most important foundations of the lofty party quality of our journalism. There are examples whereby the presentations, let's say, of a newspaper have become the basis for decisions adopted by the party organs. Thus, the question raised by the newspaper RAKHVA KHYAEL' concerning the modernization of the Yarovakanadi Tekhazed Combine and the article in SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA about the fruitless conversion of paper were discussed in the Bureau of the CP of Estonia CC. The measures taken by the Bureau of the Yygevaskiy Raykom, as suggested by the newspaper PUNALIPP, with regard to maintaining the level of milk production have been successful. Nevertheless, there are still too few such positive examples.



We do not have the right to forget that criticism should be constructive and should have a precise target. There must be no place for ambiguity and grumbling in our journalism.

An attitude of concern for the language and style of publications has always been a fine tradition of our journalism, said Comrade Ristlaan. To speak with readers, listeners or viewers simply and understandably--but at the same time clearly and with images--is a necessary condition for the effectiveness of journalistic presentation. There must be no place in them for grayness and stereotypes, for trite phrases and commonplace opinions about copy-book truisms. We must not forget that journalists, to a large extent, form the present-day conversational and literary language, and this imposes a particular responsibility on them.

Comrade Ristlaan then dwelt on the tasks of the republic's journalists in connection with the 60th Anniversary of the USSR's formation, which is coming up next year. This historic event, he emphasized, ought to become a powerful impulse for demonstrating the achievements of a developed socialist society, for intensifying the patriotic and internationalist education of the working people. Preparations for this date presuppose not only the expansion of topical matter, linked with the friendship of the peoples and the reinforcement of our society's social, political and ideological unity, but also a profound comprehension of all the socio-economic achievements of the Land of the Soviets.

The party judges the purposeful activities of journalists on their merits and sees in them an irreplaceable detachment of fighters on the ideological front. The party's recognition of the workers in the fields of mass information media and propaganda found expression in the greeting conveyed by the CP of Estonia CC to the 6th Congress of the Estonian SSR Union of Journalists.

We are convinced, said Comrade Ristlaan in conclusion, that Estonia's journalists will continue to spare neither efforts nor energy in the struggle to implement the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, bringing the party's message to the masses.

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## REGIONAL

### DASHDAMIROV ADDRESSES MEETING ON INDOCTRINATION OF INTELLIGENTSIA

Baku BAKINSKIY RABO CHIY in Russian 19 Dec 81 p 4

[Article: "To Increase the Effectiveness of the Marxist-Leninist Education of the Creative Intelligentsia"]

[Text] Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out the main question in party education -- in its outcome -- during the 26th CPSU Congress. He said: "We want party policy to blend with the activity of the masses, and party education to teach people -- speaking in the words of V. I. Lenin -- 'to act as communism really demands.' In other words, we are talking about achieving the unity of the party's ideological, theoretical, political, indoctrinational, organizational, and economic work in this matter."

The meeting of the worker aktiv of the republic's scientific and artistic establishments, organizations and higher training institutes, which was held on 17 December in the republic's House of Political Enlightenment of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, was devoted to questions concerning the further improvement of the creative intelligentsia's Marxist-Leninist education in light of the demands of the 26th CPSU Congress.

G. B. Abdullayev, the president of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences, started the meeting with an opening address.

A. F. Dashdamirov, manager of the propaganda and agitation department of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, gave the report, "The Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and of the 30th Azerbaijan Communist Party Congress Are the Methodological Basis for the Theoretical and Practical Work of Scientific Collectives."

The speaker said that during the 26th CPSU Congress the importance of a combined approach to the analysis and solution of effectiveness problems had been especially singled out. The complex nature of objective social processes and of practical tasks predetermines the need for such an approach to their comprehension and development in the theoretical area. The social and historical practices of developed socialism place before science those problems which urgently require multifaceted and multilevel analysis and total research.

The unity of theory and practice is a law for all CPSU activity. The 26th party congress confirmed this again. Its materials are an embodiment of the organic unity of the theoretical understanding of social processes, of the assignment of scientifically sound tasks, and of the opening up of ways to solve them for our country's most successful movement toward communism. This great act of fruitfully combining theory and practice in the party's political and organizational activity must be constantly taught to our ideological aktiv -- to all our scientists, specialists and workers on the creative front. This, by the way, is one of the main tasks of the republic's instructional methods seminars.

Active intervention in the course of life from Marxist-Leninist positions inevitably acquires the nature of a struggle of the new against the old, of a struggle of the forces of progress against the forces which are dragging us back and paralyzing our progressive movement.

A Marxist-Leninist world outlook -- and, consequently, instructional methods -- assumes revolutionary thinking and action and a class analysis of the real content of social processes and social phenomena from the position of working class interests. Party spirit and class character are the fundamental principle for our world outlook and for all our instructional methods.

Comrade Dashdamirov continued: Marxist-Leninist philosophy helps researchers to understand, comprehend and evaluate not only that which is being accomplished and taking place in this or that particular sphere or field but in the world on the whole. Only dialectical materialism most fully reflects the revolutionary and dynamic nature of our epoch and is in a condition to correctly evaluate and understand the dynamics of the uninterrupted course in the development of scientific thought. The development of Marxist-Leninist theory and of the social, natural and technical sciences under modern conditions is a genuine requirement and guarantee of our successful forward movement in the practical execution of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

The 30th Azerbaijan Communist Party Congress -- the speaker further said -- pointed out that the role and importance of science in the economic and social development of the republic have been considerably strengthened. At the same time, there are still many unsolved questions in the areas of planning and organizing scientific research, its level and the quality of the final results. A very important task assigned by the congress is increasing the effectiveness of scientific research, achieving high final results, and accelerating the introduction of that which has been achieved into practice .

Program tasks have been assigned to the republic's social scientists: to increase attention on studying the conformity to law of socialist public development; on summarizing and publicizing the historical experience of the CPSU and the Azerbaijan party organization; studying more deeply the history of the Azerbaijan people, their culture and the glorious path travelled by the republic's workers during the years of Soviet power. A very critical task for the scientists is the investigation of the processes which occurred during the Seventies here.

The program for the formation of new man, which was proposed during the congress, is also thoroughly scientific in its substance. The most important task of our social sciences -- the development of the scientific bases for the formation of a new man -- flows from this. Questions on further increasing the effectiveness of the ideological, political, work, and moral indoctrination of Soviet people and the level of their Marxist-Leninist awareness come to the forefront here. It is necessary to investigate problems concerning the purposeful development of personal needs and the conformity to law of the formation of a socialist consciousness and of the spiritual life of our society more thoroughly.

The party's theoretical arsenal has been filled during recent years with a number of important general conclusions and deductions among which the study of developed socialism occupies the first place. Relying on this concept, the party has determined its strategy and tactics for a protracted historical period. The study of developed socialism provides the required theoretical and methodological basis for solving problems during the present stage of social development. Work in this direction leads to growth in the Soviet people's consciousness and social activity, and increases the effectiveness of our struggle against alien ideological influences.

The republic has entered the new decade possessing significant economic, scientific and technical potential and a large army of trained personnel who are devoted to the task and who are capable of solving more and more complicated and larger tasks -- the speaker said in conclusion. What are the possibilities and complexities of our further growth, the problems, and the directions? Who must answer these questions? It is clear that it is the scientists and science. In order to understand all this, it is necessary to master the propositions and conclusions, which are contained in the theoretical and political documents of the CPSU, the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, and the materials of the 26th party congress and the 30th congress of the Azerbaijan communists, thoroughly and topically.

Professor Ye. F. Solopov, doctor of philosophical sciences and deputy chairman of the Central Council for Philosophical (Methodological) Seminars attached to the presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, gave a report on the subject, "The Tasks of Philosophical (Methodological) Seminars in Carrying Out the CPSU Central Committee Decree 'On Further Improving Party Studies in Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress'."

R. Sh. Khutsishvili, an assistant professor in the Institute of Foreign Languages imeni I. Chavchavadze and deputy chairman of the Republic Council of Philosophical (Methodological) Seminars attached to the presidium of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences, shared experiences in organizing the work of instructional methods seminars in Georgia.

G. A. Gasanov, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the work of the meeting.



## REGIONAL

### BAKU INSTITUTE DIRECTOR FIRED IN 'PROTECTIONISM' SCANDAL

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 24 Dec 81 p 2

[Article "From Positions of Party Principles and Exactingness"]

[Text] The decree of the Shaumyanovskiy party raykom bureau, "Concerning Gross Violations in the Selection and Placement of Personnel in the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Transporting and Processing Natural Gas, and the Fallacious Leadership Style and Incorrect Actions of the Institute's Director, Comrade A. M. Kuliyeu " was published in the press on 31 July.

A severe reprimand was given to the institute's director, Comrade Kuliyeu, for gross violations of party principles in the selection and placement of personnel, for the protectionism and servility displayed during this, fallacious work style and methods, abuse of work regulations, and serious shortcomings in assigning vehicles for personal use. The reprimand was entered on his record card. The party raykom considered it inadvisable to leave him in the position he was occupying.

The deputy director of the institute, Comrade T. Kiyasbeyli; the laboratory chief, Comrade Yu. Litvishkov; the former secretary of the party organization, Comrade A. Tabataban; and the chairman of the local trade union committee, Comrade V. Mustafa-zad, received severe party penalties.

The party raykom bureau's decision was supported and accepted as guidance and for execution by the overwhelming majority of the communists and workers in the institute. The institute's party organization began to carry out several practical measures to eradicate the deficiencies in the scientific work and to restore the moral and psychological climate in the collective.

However, individual communists, led by A. M. Kuliyeu who continued to perform the duties of director, requested the Shaumyanovskiy party raykom bureau during one of the plenary party meetings to examine the possibility of leaving Kuliyeu in the position of institute director.

The institute's party meeting to hear reports and elect officials rebuffed these sentiments, which were dictated by the striving of individual workers, who enjoyed Kuliyeu's protection, to preserve the old order of fellow-countrymen's association and servility in the institute.

Comrades T. Kiyasbeyli, A. Dzhavadov, F. Farzaliyev, and other communists who spoke during the party meeting subjected the activity of the institute's party bureau to sharp criticism, and condemned Comrade A. Kuliyeu's work style and methods and the gross violations in the selection and placement of personnel and in the procedure for assigning vehicles. In their presentations, communist Comrades T. Kadyrov, R. Musayev, S. Khandzhaliev, and S. Shakhmuradov stated that the deficiencies, which existed in the institute, had not -- unfortunately -- been revealed by the primary party organization itself but by the party raykom. This testifies to the fact that the party bureau did not devote constant attention to questions concerning instilling and increasing the communists' responsibility for the effectiveness of the scientific work and for the creation of a business-like and exacting situation in the collective.

The party meeting to hear reports and elect officials decreed that a fundamental change in the style, forms and methods of work be considered the most important task of the institute's party organization, and demanded that its mass organizational and political work be organized based on the requirements of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 30th Azerbaijan Communist Party Congress and that the collective be mobilized to fulfill plans and socialist obligations ahead of time, eliminate existing shortcomings and completely eradicate the violations exposed in the 19 March 1981 decree of the party raykom bureau. The decision of the 1 September 1981 party meeting and the request to the Shaumyanovskiy party raykom to leave Comrade A. Kuliyeu in the position of director was considered rash and non-objective.

The institute's party meeting approved the decision of the Shaumyanovskiy Azerbaijan Communist Party raykom bureau on the gross violations in the selection and placement of personnel in the gas research institute and the fallacious leadership style and incorrect actions of the institute's director, Comrade A. Kuliyeu, completely and fully; and accepted it as firm guidance and for strict execution.

The communists demanded that the institute's party bureau improve its checking of the work of the administration, especially in matters pertaining to the selection, placement and training of personnel; intensify its attention toward the work of the Komsomol and other public organizations; and stir up the activity of the people's control groups and posts.

It was proposed that the party bureau develop specific measures for the practical realization of the critical comments and suggestions, expressed by the communists, and establish a strict check on their fulfillment.

The institute's meeting to hear reports and elect officials gave assurances that the gas research institute's communists will apply all their strength and creative energy to the successful carrying out of the critical tasks facing the collective and will ensure the implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and of the 30th congress of the republic's Communist Party.

Elections for the new composition of the party bureau were held. Comrade A. Dzhavadov was elected secretary.

V. A. Guseynov, first secretary of the Bakinskiy gorkom, addressed the institute's party meeting to hear reports and elect officials.

## REGIONAL

### AZERBAIJAN DECREE CRITICIZES PETROLEUM, GAS AGENCY

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 26 Dec 81 p 1

[Article: "In the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee has discussed the question of the work of the party committees of the gas and oil production and drilling directorates of the Ordzhonikidzevskiy Rayon in mobilizing collectives to fulfill plans and socialist obligations in light of 26th CPSU Congress requirements.

The decree which was adopted points out that the party committees of the oil and gas production and drilling directorates of the Ordzhonikidzevskiy Rayon are conducting definite organizational and mass political work in labor collectives and are rallying and directing their efforts towards the fulfillment of plans and socialist obligations. This has permitted a lowering of the rates of decrease in oil production, overfulfillment of the goals in producing gas, and some increase in the technical and economic indicators for drilling operations to be achieved during the 10th Five-Year Plan. During the last period of the present year, the "Ordzhonikidzeneft'" NGDU [Oil and Gas Production Directorate] oil production plan was fulfilled; for the region on the whole, 726 million cubic meters of gas were produced and 5,400 meters of sinkings were drilled over and above the plan.

At the same time, the level and content of the work of the party committees of the oil and gas production directorates of "Ordzhonikidzeneft'" and of the Serebrovskiy, and of the Peschaninskoye Maritime Directorate for Drilling Operations to ensure the successful solution of economic tasks and the mobilization of the efforts of the workers and engineer technical workers to raise the effectiveness of production and the quality of work still does not correspond to the tasks put forward by the 26th CPSU Congress and the 30th Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party and to the directions contained in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech to the November 1981 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The party committees are poorly stirring up the work of the shop party organizations and party groups and that of the commissions to check on the administration's activities, and they have not exerted the necessary influence on the solution of production questions. The party organizations and leaders of the directorates are not concentrating the efforts of communists and of all workers sufficiently on the search for and the putting into operation of reserves and opportunities for the growth of oil production, the increasing of outputs, and an improvement in the quality of drilling operations.

A large shortfall was permitted by the NGDU imeni Serebrovskiy which gave 438,000 tons of oil less than the plan during the 10th Five-Year Plan, and during the

current year -- 6,000 tons. The main reason for the condition, which has been created, was the slow development and opening up of the prospective "Bakhar" deposits, where the erection of installations for the collection and transporting of products was unjustifiably prolonged and where a considerable amount of new wells were not put into operation. As a result, the volume of oil production decreased almost ten percent in this deposit during the five-year plan instead of the planned growth. Considerable derelictions exist also in the development of the "Ordzhonikidzeneft'" NGDU deposits. Many violations are being permitted in oil and gas production technology, and research work is not being sufficiently incorporated.

Serious shortcomings exist in the work of the Peschaninskoye directorate for drilling operations. Production time for the directorate was only 65 percent during the 10th Five-Year Plan because of the low level of work organization and the incorrect use of labor and material resources. A total of 35 accidents occurred during this period, the majority of which happened due to the fault of the executives; 13 wells were eliminated for technical reasons, and almost 20,000 meters of sinkings were left undrilled.

The party committees did not display the necessary initiative and steadfastness in solving questions concerning the renovation of enterprises and the introduction of new equipment and progressive technologies. The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the republic Council of Ministers decree, "On Measures To Further Intensify Oil Production in the Republic and To Use Secondary and Tertiary Oil Extraction Methods", is being carried out poorly. Tertiary measures for intensifying production are being taken only in ten percent of the wells although it is possible to embrace more than a third of the operating assets with this method.

Considerable shortcomings exist in the selection, placement and indoctrination of personnel. More than 15 percent of the engineer technical workers in the directorate do not have the appropriate education; at the same time, 407 specialists with a higher and secondary special education occupy worker positions. Little attention is being devoted to the young workers. More than three-quarters of the professional and technical institute graduates, who have been sent during recent years to the directorate, have left production.

The party committees are not devoting the necessary attention to improving the effectiveness of the organizational, political, and indoctrinational work performed in the collectives. Urgent production questions are seldom discussed during meetings and sessions of the bureau, and existing shortcomings are not being subjected to high-principled criticism. During the 10th Five-Year Plan, the over-expenditure of oil for its own needs over and above the plan to a volume of more than 54,000 tons was permitted in the "Ordzhonikidzeneft'" NGDU, and gas losses reached 600 million cubic meters in the NGDU imeni Serebrovskiy. However, these questions were not thoroughly studied by the party organizations, and steps were not taken with the economic leaders to eliminate this abnormal phenomenon. An effective check on the realization of combined ideological and moral indoctrination plans is not being conducted, and a correct party evaluation is not being given to cases of the loss of the sense of responsibility for the job entrusted and to other violations on the part of some communists.



The party and trade union committees and the economic leaders of the directorates are making poor use of the opportunities for socialist competition to further improve the effectiveness of production and the quality of work and to disseminate progressive experience and valuable initiatives and undertakings. Annually, one third of the shops and brigades for drilling for and producing oil and gas and for repairing wells do not cope with plans, and one-half -- with obligations. The necessary attention is not being paid to raising production standards and improving services in housing and dining halls, and the needs of the oil workers for lodgings and for trade and personal services are not being sufficiently satisfied.

The Ordzhonikidzevskiy party raykom is not fully checking on the work of the party organizations of the NGDU imeni Serebrovskiy and the "Ordzhonikidzeneft'" and the Peschaninskoye Maritime Directorate for Drilling Operations; is not displaying towards their party committees exactingness for strengthening party leadership over economic activity and for raising the responsibility of the leading and the engineer technical workers; and is poorly developing the creative initiative of worker collectives in the interests of making maximum use of existing reserves and carrying out plans and socialist obligations.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee has required the party committees of the oil and gas production directorates of "Ordzhonikidzeneft'" and imeni Serebrovskiy and the Peschaninskoye Maritime Directorate for Drilling Operations to develop and carry out measures aimed at eliminating the deficiencies, which have been pointed out in the present decree, and to ensure the creation of an atmosphere of high responsibility for increasing oil production output and improving drilling indicators in the collectives.

Guided by the directions of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU, concerning questions on the development of the fuel and energy branches of industry [it is necessary]:

to ensure a further rise in the level of organizational, political, and indoctrinational work in labor collectives and improve the party leadership of economic activity and the role of primary and shop party organizations and party groups in solving production tasks;

to improve the work style and methods and strengthen the influence of party meetings on the carrying out of the practical tasks facing the collectives; to see to it that an exchange of opinions and business-like and interested criticism broadly unfolds during party meetings and that concrete and sound decisions are made on the questions being discussed; to improve the organization of checking on and inspecting the execution and achieve an organic merging of checking and practical work in carrying out the decrees of higher organs and their own decisions.

The party committees and economic leaders of the oil and gas production and drilling directorates of the Ordzhonikidzevskiy Rayon must:

ensure during the 11th Five-Year Plan an increase in the production of oil and gas and in the volume of drilling operations, and a speed-up in the technical

re-equipping of enterprises; take steps to improve the development of deposits and drilling processes, to introduce highly effective measures to intensify oil production and the sinking of wells to strengthen the policy of economy and thrift, and to bring the necessary standards to the industrial territories and maritime foundations;

for the NGDU imeni Serebrovskiy: strengthen its attention on the development of deposits and improve the checking of the technical level of their development; in the "Bakhar" deposit, finish by the end of the five-year plan the reconstruction of the system for collecting and transporting oil, gas and condensate and increase the volume of oil production here by ten percent;

for the "Ordzhonikidzeneft'" NGDU: achieve a significant growth in the volume of drilling for residual oil and broad use of advanced secondary and tertiary oil extraction methods in the deposits of Surakhana and Karachukhur, and -- based on this -- ensure an increase in the selection of oil reserves; complete the shift of all wells to non-leaching operation in 1985;

for the "Ordzhonikidzeneft'" NGDU and the NGDU imeni Serebrovskiy: achieve a sharp improvement in the work of underground and major well overhaul brigades, an increase in their interchangeability, their equipping with the necessary equipment and instruments, and the full staffing of the brigades with qualified workers and specialists;

for the Peschaninskoye Maritime Directorate for Drilling Operations: ensure a sharp improvement in technical and economic drilling indicators by improving the organization of drilling operations, introducing advanced work methods, strengthening the checking for the observance of transmitting conditions, and decreasing accidents as much as possible; and achieve a growth in drilling production time of 10 - 15 percent during the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The party committees and economic leaders must improve their work with personnel, raise exactingness on engineer technical workers and middle level leaders for the state of affairs in work collectives, and instill in them a spirit of high responsibility for the carrying out of plans and socialist obligations and intolerance for shortcomings; promote young specialists more determinedly to leadership positions and create for them conditions for improving their professional skill and business qualifications.

It was suggested that the "Azneft'" and "Kaspmorneftegazprom" associations develop and implement a series of organizational and technical measures aimed at eliminating the deficiencies in the construction and development of deposits; review within a two-month period the prospects for the expansion of oil and gas production and geological prospecting and drilling operations in the Ordzhonikidzevskiy Rayon, and allot the appropriate capital investments and material technical resources for these purposes; devote greater attention to improving living and personal services conditions and to solving the social questions of the oil industry workers.

It was suggested that the party committees of the directorates, the republic trade union committee of gas and oil industry workers, and economic leaders improve the organization of the socialist competition to successfully carry out plans and obligations, decisively get rid of manifestations of formalism in adopting obligations and carrying them out, achieve an improvement in the effectiveness of production and the quality of work, ensure the broad incorporation of progressive experience and valuable initiatives and undertakings, and demonstrate constant concern for improving the work, living, and rest conditions of the workers.

The Ordzhonikidzevskiy Azerbaijan Communist Party raykom must raise the level of leadership of the work of the party committees and provide them the necessary help in improving organizational, party, political, ideological, and indoctrinational work; direct the activity of party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and of all workers toward the practical realization of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 30th Congress of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, the implementation of the tasks put forward by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev -- general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee -- during the November 1981 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and the successful fulfillment of plans and socialist obligations.

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## REGIONAL

### AZERI GOSPLAN CHIEF ON INDUSTRIAL CONSTRUCTION

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 12 Jan 82 pp 1-2

[Interview of S.K. Abbasaliyev, deputy chairman of Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of republic Gosplan, by BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY correspondent A. Lerner: "Azerbaijan in Construction; Interview Beside a Map"]

[Text] At the request of the BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY correspondent, S.K. Abbasaliyev, the deputy chairman of Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of republic Gosplan, comments on a map of the most important construction projects of the second year of the five-year plan.

[Answer] I shall begin with the fact that there would hardly be an empty space on the map which BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY presents to its readers if we were to indicate on it all the facilities being presently erected in the republic—for industrial, agricultural or cultural and consumer use. Work on the modernization and expansion of existing enterprises has assumed a tremendous scope—the fact is that most frequently a perfectly new production facility is most often created in place of the existing plant or factory, exceeding the old in capacity and, of course, in technical level.

And housing!? For example, during the current year alone, we must put in operation houses with a total area of 1,113,000 square meters, that is, 12.7 percent more than in the past year. In a word, our republic has been called one all-encompassing construction site not without reason. This perhaps expresses most clearly the constructive purpose of our state, the creative aims of Soviet society.

[Question] What, Sabit Kasumovich, are the chief distinctive features of the 1982 construction program?

[Answer] In his speech at the November (1981) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, on calling capital construction the decisive sector of the five-year plan, formulated its task for 1982 as follows: "...To really achieve radical shifts in capital construction, to make operational production capacities at all facilities without exception stipulated by the plan."

At all without exception! We therefore do not have the right to any reductions in the future. The plan must be firmly designated, reinforced with material and manpower resources and provided with planning estimates. And it must be carried out



strictly. It is namely in this way that the republic party organization approaches the solution of problems of capital construction. It is no accident that it was emphasized from the high tribune of the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan held in December that our builders had achieved positive qualitative changes, but existing reserves and opportunities for raising the efficiency of the sector's work are not being fully utilized. Deficiencies and lapses still continue to exist in the work of construction organizations and clients. Therefore, a first-priority task is to have all reserves of construction production put at the service of the five-year plan and lapses reduced to a minimum.

If we were to speak more concretely, the tendency would be continued during the current year of reducing the number of construction projects. This is done for the purpose of providing the possibility of greater concentration of manpower and resources at them. But the number of newly starting projects compared to 1981 will be reduced by 20 percent and their total number by 10 percent. Capital investment for a single construction project will be increased by 23 percent thanks to this. The size of unfinished construction is planned to be reduced to the norm. The plan for the development of our national economy provides on the whole a limit to state capital investment in the amount of 1,924,000,000 rubles, including almost 880 million rubles' worth of construction and installation work or, together with the increase, about 6 percent. Fixed capital must be made operational in the amount of 1.9 billion rubles, which exceeds last year's indicator by 16 percent.

[Question] Please indicate what the new fixed capital will consist of.

[Answer] Of course, it would be impossible to enumerate everything, but I shall point out the main construction projects. A significant place is occupied among them by facilities of light and food industry, enterprises which have been assigned a major role in the food program. They include, for example, those such as the Apsheron pure-strain breeding reproduction facility, Novo-Bakinskiy No 2 Poultry Factory, milling combines at Nakhichevan' and Agdam, a cheese plant at Ismailly, a baking plant at Sal'yany, about 20 wine-making plants, a number of animal-husbandry complexes. In addition, the third section of the Ali-Bayramly Instrument Plant, new chemical capacities in Sumgait....

[Question] Evidently a special place is occupied by electric-power facilities?

[Answer] That is quite correct. You know that at the recent plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan reference was made to the fact that because of the untimely creation of under-way power capacities in the republic disproportions have been created between the production and consumption of electric power, which sometimes results in work interruptions in some very important sectors of the economy. To cover the deficit in the 11th Five-Year Plan it is planned to put into operation 1,580,000 kilowatts of additional capacities at Azerbaydzhanskaya and Shamakhorskaya GCS. This is an important task, demanding maximum concentration of the efforts of power engineers so as to fulfill in the designated time period the construction of electric-power stations and to have them reach the projected capacities.

Guided by these directives, the republic's construction units are applying much energy and resources to convert it into reality. We know that the ahead-of-schedule start-up of the first power block of Azerbaydzhanskaya GRES was made possible

literally by the heroic labor of a large group of construction and installation workers. At the present time, the many-thousand international collective has assumed another commitment — a second power block of 300,000 kilowatts to become operational in August of the present year. The builders of Shakhorskaya GES are also edging ahead; the first turbine is scheduled to become operational in the fourth quarter, but the collective has promised to complete all the work two months earlier.

[Question] At the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Azerbaijan, a problem was acutely put of the builders' negligence in the creation of their own base.

[Answer] Yes. Despite the fact that the fixed capital of the construction industry has undergone significant changes in the last 10 years and has more than doubled in size, the state of affairs here leaves much to be desired. Without the rapid development of their own base, it would be impossible to solve strategic tasks in the field of construction during the 11th Five-Year Plan and the longer term. This is why so much attention was devoted to this question at the plenum of the Central Committee and this is why the heads of individual ministries were so sharply criticized for underestimating the seriousness of the problem of strengthening the construction base.

For the purpose of bridging this gap, the current year's program provides for the erection of plants of large-panel house construction No 3 as well as of facing slabs in Nakhichevan', a plant for construction components and House Construction Combine No 2 in Baku, the expansion of Woodworking Plant imeni P. Montin of Min-sel'stroy Trust located here and the erection of a rural construction combine of Glavkolkhozsovkhozstroy Trust in Mingechaur and a number of capacities of other construction subdivisions.

[Question] At the 26th CPSU Congress there was much talk of the necessity of re-equipment, modernization and expansion of existing enterprises and of the fact that this provides most frequently a greater return than the erection of new enterprises; moreover, the invested funds are quickly repaid.

[Answer] On the basis of the directives of the forum of the country's communists, more than 70 percent of capital investment is being allocated for the re-equipment of our enterprises during the current five-year plan. At the same time, one and a half times more funds are being allocated than during the 10th Five-Year Plan for the development of sectors determining scientific-technical progress, and in the case of machine building the figure is almost double.

Considerable funds have been allocated for augmentation of production capacities for the manufacture of consumer goods; I have already made reference to such facilities. As for modernization, it will be applied to the Baku Electromachine-Building Plant and to Azerelektrosvet Plant; much work will be done on the arterial Canal imeni Ordzhonikidze....

[Question] You spoke, Sabit Kasumovich, of housing. But this, of course, did not exhaust solution of the task of the republic's social development?

[Answer] Quite right. There is much for us to do, for example, in the field of education and health care. It is planned to put into operation during the five-year plan general educational schools with 140,000 pupils' places, which would make it possible to reduce the relative share of the second shift in the teaching system to 18 percent in place of the 28.2 percent in 1980. Higher and secondary specialized educational institutions in the republic will graduate more than 200,000 qualified specialists.... This too will require the expansion of existing teaching facilities. A part of the work, you understand, is set for this year. Thus there will be put to use 26,200 teaching places, preschool institutions with 6,000 places and hospitals with 1,090 beds.

There will be a significant improvement in the water supply to the republic's population of cities and rayon centers. The second section of the Kura Aqueduct is scheduled to go into operation, which will provide the population of Baku, Sumgait and the Apscheron Peninsula with an additional 450,000 cubic meters of drinking water per day.

A most important nature-conserving item is Baku's large sewer system, the operational start-up of which discontinues the discharge of sewage into Baku Bay and creates conditions for the further development of housing, cultural-consumer and industrial construction in all districts of the city. An underway complex with a purification capacity of 600,000 cubic meters of sewage per day is scheduled to go into operation this year; it is to reach its full capacity of 800,000 cubic meters in 1984.

In a word it is going to be a strenuous year. And in order to handle successfully the whole work program, collectives of builders and installation workers and construction-materials enterprises must work with strict regularity and high output. They have to remember that the achievements of the republic's economy as a whole to a large extent depend on the results of their work.

[Question] Certainly they must not forget that in accordance with the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on improving the economic mechanism it is necessary to expand the system of settlements with customers for commodity construction products. Moreover, work must be completed connected with the transition to the two and three link system of management, the amalgamation of local contracting organizations and raising of the level of production specialization.

[Answer] These transitions, unfortunately, are proceeding more slowly than one would like. And here it is necessary to apply a great deal more effort to make up for lost time. But the construction people are full of resolve to do everything so that the change that has been started in the sector reaches its logical conclusion and so that 1982 -- the year of the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR -- is marked with new achievements and new victories.

1530/226

## REGIONAL

### GUR'YEV OBKOM FIRST SECRETARY ON WORK WITH LETTERS

Alma Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian, 29 Dec 81 p 2

[Article by U. Kushekov, first secretary of the Gur'yev Oblast Committee of the Kazakhstan CP: "Letters to the Oblast Committee"]

[Text] A letter arrives in the party committee... The phenomenon, it would seem, is normal, humdrum. But normal does not mean of secondary importance. All depends on how it is treated. Indeed, behind every letter stands a human being.

It is well known what important significance V. I. Lenin attached to this question. He saw letters from workers as the vital, durable threads which bound together party and Soviet organs with the full participants in operation of the state, with those to whom was entrusted the resolution of matters at the grass roots of the building of communism. And examination of the suggestions and complaints of citizens was considered by him an important political matter

The example of the Leninist approach to this extremely important work is given to us by the CPSU CC the Politburo and personally by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

"Letters and proposals by workers are of tremendous importance as a channel of vital communication between the party and the masses," emphasized Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress. "Unbounded in their trust in the party, they appeal to it with open hearts on the most essential questions of public life, labor and daily affairs; they frankly share their considerations and concerns and criticize existing deficiencies..." A sympathetic, attentive attitude to letters, requests and complaints of citizens is the obligation of every party worker and every supervisor. They must view this as their duty before the people and the party.

In the CC CPSU decree "On measures toward further improving work with letters and suggestions of workers in light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress" it is noted that letters "are one of the most reliable and valuable sources of information on the needs and aspirations of workers in cities and rural areas."

Party committees and primary party organizations of Gur'yev Oblast, guided by instructions of the party, conduct work with letters from workers continuously and purposefully.

The letters received by the party oblast committee clearly reflect the high public-political and production activity of the people, aimed at successfully



bringing to life the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 15th Kazakhstan CP Congress. Their authors manifest interest in and concern for the further development of the economy and culture of the oblast; they advise and make proposals on matters requiring attention. Frequently problems are raised which have important significance to farms and rayons.

In many letters both party members and non-members raise the question, for example, of development of mineral deposits in Inderskiy Rayon. During a visit to that rayon Comrade D. A. Kunayev, member of the Politburo of the CPSU CC and first secretary of the CC of the Kazakhstan CP, recommended that the desires of party members be studied. This question was studied and then reviewed by the bureau of the party oblast committee. Specific measures were noted for accelerating development of the wealth of the rayon. At present these suggestions are being implemented.

In past years the party oblast committee has received several letters from Novobogatinskiy Rayon in which the authors expressed opinions on the possibility of creating a new fodder-producing farm. Actually, in that rayon there was an annual shortage of succulent fodder, and coarse fodders were produced on the Novinskiy Islands in the Caspian Sea, a considerable distance from the sovkhozes. Fulfilling the desires of the workers of the rayon, the oblast committee helped to establish the new fodder producing Sovkhoz imeni 60-letiya Oktyabr'.

Many letters are received with suggestions and advice for improving the work of party committees and primary party organizations, local Soviets and trade unions; for improving management of production, transportation, capital construction, trade establishments and consumer services establishments. Many of these proposals are used in preparing questions for review by the bureau and plenary sessions of the oblast committee and at activist meetings. They are considered in working out measures for implementing the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 15th Congress of the Kazakhstan CP. In the past few years the bureaus of the oblast committee of the party reviewed 94 questions concerning complaints and statements of workers. They were also discussed at plenary sessions of city and rayon party committees, and at sessions and meetings of executive committees of local soviets. This question has also been brought up at plenary sessions of the oblast party committee. Before the plenary session the situation was profoundly studied by all rayon and city committees, by 310 primary party organizations, by 100 trade union committees, at enterprises, establishments, sovkhozes and kolkhozes.

The adopted measures have noticeably vitalized the work. But this does not mean that we have completely eliminated the deficiencies. Here and there instances of tentative, indifferent attitudes toward resolution of workers' suggestions, requests and complaints are evident. On this count the bureau of the party oblast committee adopted several resolutions in which sharp and principled criticism was leveled at the work of individual party committees, and also at managers for deficiencies and omissions in work with letters and in solution of questions arising in them.

In the past two years the oblast committee received more than 1,500 letters, the majority of which were dealt with. In 680 letters the workers' requests were resolved positively, and specific measures were taken to eliminate the deficiencies noted by the authors of all other letters.

Very often people refer housing problems to the party organs. In this regard a great amount of work is being done to improve housing construction and to maintain the existing housing. This has permitted the resettlement of many families from barracks-type houses into well-constructed quarters.

Letters are also received in which people complain about supervisors; they indignantly write of their unworthy conduct and abuse of their official positions, of incidences of patronage, crudeness in dealing with subordinates, and lack of humility. At every signal the party oblast committee adopts measures aimed at creating normal and healthy conditions in collectives. For example, for additions to state accounts which resulted in enormous losses to the state and for abuse of his official position the director of a poultry plant, O. Dzhumagaziyev, was relieved of his post. For use of official position for profit and for striving for profits the manager of the city financial section, G. Murzagaliyev, was relieved of his post, and the director of a brewery, K. Sisenov, was dismissed from the party.

In the past few years several complaints have been received about supervisors in Embinskiy Rayon. In this case attention was directed to the fact that the rayon party committee did not always render a principled evaluation of the improper actions of some supervisors and responsible persons.

A review of the letters and a trip to the area demonstrated that individual managers of economic organs of the rayon carried out construction of individual residential houses with deviations from plans and the existing norms for living space. Someone had been attracted to construction of large gravestones for dead relatives from expensive construction materials. Also reported were instances of purchases of light trucks out of turn. The results of the inspection were reviewed by the bureau of the oblast committee. The Embinskiy Rayon party committee was cited for serious deficiencies in reviewing letters and complaints of workers. A strict party reprimand was administered to the rayon committee first secretary, B. K. Izteleuov, for lack of exactingness in reviewing letters and for manifestations of lack of principle in evaluating misdemeanors and abuses by individual responsible persons.

Systematic study of the nature of letters helps the oblast committee to consider the interests and desires of workers and in the final analysis to react properly to them. For example, many complaints have been received from residents of the city and rayons concerning the abnormal functioning of the heating system and poor water supply. Such letters occupied the agenda of one meeting of the oblast committee secretariat, after which the necessary measures were taken.

We have paid particular attention to letters of workers concerning violations by some directors of labor laws and their flagrantly illegal activities. The oblast

organization undertook work to uncover and prevent illegal dismissals of workers and employees. Seventy percent of the complaints and inquiries of this nature were resolved satisfactorily.

In the past few years wide application has been made in our oblast of such new forms of work as open letter days, united political days, and citizens' meetings. Such meetings with their frank discussions between workers and supervisors help resolve urgent questions without red tape.

The party oblast committee attaches great significance to publicity in work with letters. On the pages of oblast and rayon newspapers there appear regularly extracts and summaries of letters and notices of measures taken.

However, some individual rayon party committees still persist in failing to manifest the necessary concern for timely elimination of the causes for justifiable indignation by the populace. They tolerate existing deficiencies, particularly in the sphere of services and everyday life of the people, and do not always inform collectives of measures taken. Formalism, red tape and a careless attitude toward the requests of people persist, thus generating repeated letters.

In perfecting work with workers' letters, party committees strive to raise the level of their organizational and political activity, to strengthen their ties with the masses. Noticeable successes have been noted in the waning months of the first year of the 11th Five-year Plan. Industrial enterprises fulfilled their plans for product sales. Builders fulfilled their tasks. Farm workers' successes are particularly gratifying. At present considerably more livestock and milk has been sold. Good results were achieved by sheep breeders, who received 110 lambs for every 100 ewes.

Study of the mood of people is the sacred obligation of every party worker. It is essential to value the opinions of Soviet people, to manifest genuine Leninist feeling and principle in reviewing letters and complaints of citizens. This demand of the party underlies our party's obkom's work with letters, those "genuine human documents," as Lenin called them.

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CSO: 1830/203

## REGIONAL

### TURYSOV ADDRESSES ALMA ATA TRADE UNION CONFERENCE

Alma Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 31 Dec 81 p 2

[Article by V. Filinskiy, Alma Ata: "With Concern for the Worker"]

[Text] The Alma Atinskaya Oblast Interunion Conference has been held. The delegates heard and discussed the report of the oblast trade-union council presented by its chairman T.K. Bedel'bayev.

The main attention in the report and speeches was devoted to the further development of socialist competition and of the movement for a communist attitude toward labor in the light of the requirements of the November Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee—the necessity of strictest economy and thrift in each sector of production and at each workplace.

At the present time more than 900,000 workers in the oblast are taking part in the competition; of these 307,000 have been awarded the title of shock worker of communist labor. The scope of the competition is expanding under the slogans: "Each year of the 11th Five-Year Plan in 11 months," "For the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR—60 shock-work weeks" and "The five-year target—by the 115th anniversary of V.I. Lenin's birth." The people of Alma Ata are commemorating with shock labor the voluntary union of Kazakhstan with Russia.

During the past five-year plan, 75 percent of the increase of industrial production output came from growth of labor productivity. Growth of labor productivity was at a high rate also during the first year of the 11th Five-Year Plan. More than 2,700 production collectives fulfilled their yearly targets one month ahead of time.

The volume of assimilation of capital investment is growing. During the 10th Five-Year Plan the oblast's builders used 4.3 billion rubles.

Agricultural workers, who completed six annual plans of grain delivery during the past five-year plan, have turned over to the state this year more grain, vegetables, fruits and sugar beet.

For successes achieved in the All-Union Socialist Competition, Alma Atinskaya Oblast, Iliyskiy Rayon and 12 production collectives were awarded Challenge Red Banners, while the city of Alma Ata and Sovetskiy, Kurginskiy, Talgarskiy, Uygurskiy and Enbekshikazakhskiy rayons and 39 enterprises were awarded Challenge



Red Banners of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, the republic Council of Ministers and the Kazakh Trade-Union Council and the Komsomol Central Committee of Kazakhstan.

Competition winners were awarded orders and medals. The title of Hero of Socialist Labor was awarded to K. Tokseitov, a weaver of Kargalinskiy Cloth Combine, M.A. Otradykh, a brigade leader of a mechanized column of Kazelektroset'sstroy Trust and A. Ashimbayev, chairman of Kolkhoz imeni Lenin of Narynkol'skiy Rayon.

The competition on the basis of personal accounts of economy assumed a mass character, which made it possible to save in the last two years electric power, raw and other materials worth almost five million rubles.

The fact of growth of the mass character of technical creativity is gratifying: economic gains from the introduction into production of 23,000 inventions and efficiency proposals in the past year and a half equal 37 million rubles.

Approaching 1982 is being greeted by many collectives with higher socialist commitments and counter plans and this, as is emphasized in the speeches of the conference delegates—Hero of Socialist Labor, brigade leader of installation workers of Kazelektroset'sstroy Trust M.A. Otradykh; Hero of Socialist Labor fitter-assembler of the Machine-Building Plant imeni Kirov D.V. Kashin; Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of Kazakh SSR, worker at Gigant Sovkhoz of Enbekshikazakhskiy Rayon G. Nurgozhayeva and others--requires that trade-union organizations activate the competition and intensify work on individual competition and the conclusion of contracts among competitors.

In his book "Soviet Trade Unions Under Conditions of Developed Socialism," Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev described creative activity and labor initiative of the masses as a mighty force for the acceleration of the growth of socialist society and as one of the glorious "secrets" of its vital force. One can understand from this what major importance is played by the publicity of the competition and the able use of moral and material stimulation. Examples were cited at the conference where indicator boards were filled from case to case, while victors' prizes were issued not in a solemn setting but simply together with wages. This must not be permitted.

Trade-union committees are obliged to constantly monitor the state of norm setting and wages and to strive to bolster the stimulating role of advanced methods and forms of production organization in raising of efficiency and quality of work. Meanwhile, for example, the trade-union organization of Glavalmazstroy Trust showed a lag in shifting its brigades to cost accounting.

Rural localities lag especially in introducing economically progressive forms of labor organizations.

A. Turysov, the chairman of the Kazakh Republic Trade-Union Council, called for fuller use of the broad rights and opportunities of trade unions in regard to adoption of advanced methods of labor organization, improving of qualifications of workers and specialists and creating for them necessary production and housing conditions. The fact is that up to now, as was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, trade unions have lacked initiative in the use of their broad rights. They are not always insistent in questions of fulfillment of collective contracts, labor safety and react weakly to cases of violation of labor legislation, official red tape. This means that it will be necessary to increase monitoring

further of trade unions and labor collectives with respect to the solution of all questions relating to the labor, life and mode of living of people and to expand their participation in the planning and management of production, in the selection and placement of cadres and in the effective use of the resources of enterprises and organizations.

Questions of improvement of health protection of workers and labor and living conditions occupied a special place in the reports and speeches of the delegates. Concrete cases were cited of lapses in observance of labor legislation, rules and norms of labor safety procedures and regulations and the creation of conditions of living and recreation of workers. It was stated in particular at the conference that observance of labor legislation was checked at 283 enterprises, organizations and farms. On the basis of their results, proposals were made aimed at strict observance of Soviet labor laws. But despite this, unjustified firing of workers and employees occurred as before, in many cases without the concurrence of factory-plant or local committees. Illegal instances are also frequent of shifting or transfer to other work, pay violations and granting of annual vacations.

The dissemination of laws and other normative acts is still being inadequately conducted. Trade unions must significantly improve the legal education of workers and carefully study lessons and statements. A public review with respect to the fulfillment of complex plans of sanitary and health improvement measures at a number of enterprises has made it possible to significantly improve working conditions. More than 22,000 square meters of indoor plumbing accommodations were expanded or constructed; the network of treatment-and-prevention and health-improvement institutions has undergone large expansion. In the last two years along, 198,000 workers and employees recovered their health at dispensaries, rest homes, tourist bases and sanatoriums and more than 220,000 children spent their vacations at pioneer camps.

Strengthening of the sports base in production contributed to the further development of a mass physical-culture movement. At the present time, five voluntary sports societies exist with more than 312,000 sports enthusiasts. Trade unions are achieving unconditional fulfillment of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Further Rise of the Mass Character of Physical Culture and Sports."

For the purpose of increasing the communist education of workers 18 club systems have been formed in the oblast; there were formed attached to them 12 people's universities, 64 lecture bureaus, numerous groups of technical creativity and young naturalists. Labor-glory holidays, festivals and meetings of competing collectives are regularly held. The number of participants in amateur art has grown by almost 2,000. In the oblast's 121 libraries and 2,350 Red recreation and reading rooms surveys of new literature are organized, the dissemination of Lenin's heritage has been improved and interesting work with readers is going on. According to the results of the competition in honor of the 26th CPSU Congress, eight houses of culture have been awarded certificates of the AUCCTU, the USSR Ministry of Culture and the Komsomol Central Committee.

L.N. Akhadiyev, a member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan and first secretary of Alma-Atinskiy Party Obkom, spoke at the conference.

In the decree adopted by the conference, it states that the most important tasks of the oblast's trade-union organization should be considered the further mobilization of workers' efforts to achieve the successful fulfillment of 1982 socialist commitments as well as those of the 11th Five-Year Plan as a whole.

The conference has selected a new membership for the oblast's trade-union council and the auditing commissions of the oblast's trade-union organization as well as delegates to the 12th Congress of Trade Unions of Kazakhstan and the 17th Congress of USSR Trade Unions.

An organization plenum was held at which T.K. Bedel'bayev was chosen chairman of the oblast's trade-union council and L.L. Krashennnikova, B.A. Akhmetov, V.T. Lyyrik and K.D. Vustin--secretaries.

V.A. Katykhin was made chairman of the auditing commission of the oblast's trade-union organization.

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## REGIONAL

### KAZAKH MINISTERS CRITICIZED FOR ZHAYREM CONSTRUCTION LAG

Alma Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jan 82 p 3

[Unsigned article: "Boost the Tempo and Quality of Construction"]

[Text] The Kazakh SSR Committee of People's Control examined the question of development of the Zhayrem group of deposits of polymetal and iron-manganese ores and noted that the Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy and the Ministry of Construction of Heavy Industry Enterprises of Kazakh SSR have been unsatisfactorily fulfilling their targets. Just during the past five-year plan, more than 27 million rubles of capital investment failed to be used in the construction of facilities at the Zhayrem Ore Concentration Plant. Poor use has also been made of funds allocated in the past year. Thus the Zhayremtyazhstroy General Contracting Trust is working at a slow pace on the experimental concentration factory, the high-voltage lines of the industrial construction site, drainage of the quarries of the Far West Mine, units of warehousing facilities and stores of fuel and lubrication materials.

The trust has also not yet started work on expansion of the production facilities of construction and installation organizations, which threatens to stall the start-up of such items of the 11th Five-Year Plan as the second section of the Zhayrem Ore Concentration Combine and the Ushkatyn 3 Manganese Mine.

Dissipation of labor, material and financial resources is to be found in the trust. At the present time, more than 120 facilities are under construction. This has a negative effect on time periods and quality of work. Thus the storage facilities for fuel and lubrication materials took 60 months to build instead of the norm of 14 months and a calcium-carbide storage facility—17 months versus the norm of two months. With the elimination of defective work and alterations in the construction of dwellings at Zhayrem Village by Zhayremtyazhstroy, 10,200 rubles were spent on wages in 1981 [sic].

The purification facilities which became operational in 1978 with flaws in workmanship still do not provide the necessary purification of sewage. A secondary school that opened in 1979 lacks operational housing, greenhouse and sports area as provided by the plan. The boiler room, garage, residential buildings, stores, snack bars and dining rooms were opened with flaws in workmanship.

Due to an irresponsible attitude by O. Kamzabayev, the chief of food supply of the department of operational supply of Zhayrem Ore Concentration Combine, toward his



job, an unfinished vegetable and potato storehouse and a fruit storehouse, which went into operation in the winter of 1980-1981, brought about the spoilage of about 74 tons of potatoes and more than 2 tons of onions worth a total of 12,270 rubles.

The Kazakh SSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy and the Zhayrem Ore Concentration Combine are not creating the necessary conditions for the attainment of projected indicators for extraction of lead, zinc and barite in concentration of Zhayrem ores. Violations of contractual commitments and technical conditions for delivery of the raw ores are one of the reasons for significant losses in the processing of Zhayrem ores at the concentration factories of Achisay Polymetal Combine and Tekeli Lead-Zinc Combine.

The committee obliged the heads of the Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy and the Ministry of Construction of Heavy Industry Enterprises of Kazakh SSR to develop and implement the necessary measures for full use of allocated capital investments and fulfillment of plans for the operational start-up of fixed production capital and the attainment of projected indicators for extraction of metals of the mined ores of Zhayrem Ore Concentration Combine.

A. Abdrakhmanov, the director of Zhayremtyazhstroy Trust, has been issued a reprimand for the low organizational level of construction of facilities of Zhayrem Ore Concentration Combine, for making them operational with flaws in workmanship and for losses from poor quality fulfillment of construction and installation work. In partial compensation for the damage done to the state, he was issued a monetary fine.

For accepting and putting into operation the unfinished vegetable and potato storehouse and the fruit storehouse, as a result of which a large quantity of vegetables was spoiled, O. Kamzabayev, the chief of food supply of the department of operational supply of Zhayrem Ore Concentration Combine, was issued a severe reprimand. In partial compensation for damage done to the state, he was issued a fine.

For the consistent acceptance and putting into operation facilities for civil housing and production use with low quality of work and a large number of major flaws in workmanship, K. Turlybayev, the chairman of the state acceptance commission and Dzhezkazgan architect, was issued a severe reprimand.

For undermining the organization of mining work and violating contractual commitments for delivery of production, S. Asatov, the director of Zhayrem Ore Concentration Combine, was issued a reprimand.

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## REGIONAL

### CENTRAL ASIANS CELEBRATE ASHKHABAD CENTENNIAL

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 27 Dec 81 p 1

[Article by TurkmenINFORM: "The Capital Celebrates the Jubilee"]

[Text] The workers of Ashkhabad are marking the glorious one hundredth anniversary of their beloved city in a ceremonial atmosphere. The face of the capital has changed unrecognizably during these festive days. It has become much more beautiful, and looks even younger than it is. The faces of both city natives and visitors are particularly joyous. They may be encountered everywhere: in the parks and on the squares, on the boulevards and streets, in the theaters and movie houses. Along with the Ashkhabad residents the jubilee is being celebrated by numerous guests from Tashkent and Alma Ata, Baku and Frunze, Dushanbe and other cities of our republic. In these jubilee days all the workers of Ashkhabad pay tribute of recognition, respect and admiration to those who controlled the history of their native city.

On 26 December members and candidate members of the Turkmen CP CC Bureau, other government leaders of the republic, veterans of the party and of the Civil and Great Patriotic wars, representatives of workers' collectives, young people, members of military units of the Ashkhabad garrison, guests from the capitals of fraternal union republics and also from the brother city of Ashkhabad, Bamako, the capital of Mali, gathered at the monument to warriors of the revolution and the obelisk erected in honor of the Turkmen soldiers who died on the fronts of the Great Patriotic War. Here there was held a solemn ceremony of placing of flowers.

On the crimson ribbons were inscribed such testimonials as "To the Flaming Ashkhabad Revolutionaries Who Fell in the Struggle for Freedom and Happiness" and "To the Turkmen Warriors Who Gave Their Lives for the Freedom of Our Fatherland" from the CC CP Turkmenistan; "To the Valorous Warriors of the Revolution Who Died for Peace and Brotherhood" and "In Eternal Memory of Our Fallen Heroes" from the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Soviet of Ministers of the Turkmen SSR; and "To the Heroes of the People" and "Your Names Will Live Through the Centuries" from the Ashkhabad Party City Committee and the Ashkhabad City Executive Committee.

Participants in the ceremony observed one minute of silence in memory of the heroes who fell in the struggle for freedom and independence of our Fatherland.

On the same day thousands of citizens and guests of Ashkhabad participated in and witnessed the massive holiday festivities which took place on the boulevards and streets and in the stadiums of the Turkmen capital.

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